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BRITISH PARTY POLITICS AND THE OREGON TREATY

THE Oregon boundary question was a diplomatic problem involving a kernel of reality and an enormous husk. The husk took on more and more the character of chaff as the controversy ripened, though politicians and public never altogether realized it and diplomats refused for tactical reasons to acknowledge it. To a proper analysis of the Oregon negotiation of 1846 the separation of the kernel from the chaff is essential.

Separation of the two discloses the fact that the Treaty of 1846 from a British point of view was not a compromise but a surrender. A mere fragment of the immense territory stretching from California to Alaska and from the Rocky Mountains to the sea which diplomats and politicians argued about was in 1846 actually in dispute. The area in question was a tract lying between the offers the two governments had repeatedly made to each other, a triangle bounded on the north by the 49th parallel and on the south and east by the Columbia River—the area now the northwestern two-thirds of the state of Washington.[1] Not even the entirety of this triangle was in dispute, for in 1826 the British government had offered the American a considerable detached headland or *enclave* north of the Columbia, fronting on the Straits of Juan de Fuca.[2]

[1] In the Oregon negotiations of 1826 Albert Gallatin gave an intimation of willingness to accept a partition line along the 49th parallel which stopped short at the Straits of De Fuca so as to leave to Great Britain the whole of Vancouver Island. See Gallatin to Clay, Dec. 2, 1826, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, VI. 655–656.

[2] President Polk in his inaugural of March, 1845, and in his message to Congress of December, 1845, publicly asserted the claim of the United States to the whole of the Oregon Country. But in the interval between these addresses he formally offered to the British minister in Washington a settlement on the basis of the 49th parallel. And when that offer had been summarily rejected and had been withdrawn, he still permitted it to be known in London that he would submit to the American Senate a settlement on the basis of the 49th parallel. President Polk in his public declarations was acting on the theory "that the only way to treat John Bull was to look him straight in the eye".

This triangle was of importance to the two governments not so much for its intrinsic worth as for its water appendages. The Columbia River which washes the base of it was regarded by uninformed English opinion as the future outlet of western Canada to the sea. At the apex of the triangle, clustered about the Straits, lies that group of magnificent roadsteads and harbors (the western counterpart of the waters of New York) which the American government felt it must at least share, and share by tenure more secure than that of an *enclave*. No American government could even consider surrendering the entirety of those harbors. They were the only safe ones on the western coast to which the United States at that time had any claim. This held American negotiators immovable at the line of the 49th parallel.

If the government of the United States could not and would not move from the line of the 49th parallel, if to obtain harbors it had to engross the whole area to the Straits, any British government that undertook to bring the menacing controversy to a close had to agree to a surrender. Surrender was necessary of the whole disputed triangle, of the majestic stream of the Columbia, and of the great crescent of harbor waters sweeping through De Fuca Straits to Puget Sound. More difficult even than such a sacrifice of substance was the sacrifice required of British pride. For more than a quarter of a century and through five negotiations, British governments had resisted American pretensions to the triangle on the ground of the superiority of British title to it. That was an elevation from which it was difficult to descend. Since the earlier negotiations the triangle had been occupied by British subjects in considerable numbers, servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and employees on the farms and pastures of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Practically no Americans were there as settlers, indeed none, so far as Lord Aberdeen knew.[3] If in diplomacy possession is nine points of the law the triangle was already British. To give it up, to retreat from the Columbia River boundary, was to abandon British vested interests and to expatriate British subjects. It was to retreat from the boundary of British prestige.

Lord Aberdeen, the secretary for foreign affairs in the Conservative government of Peel, was eager for a pacific adjustment of all outstanding differences with the United States. Conciliatory and peace-loving, he saw nothing within the triangle that was worth the risk of war. Of the territory itself he had a low opinion; he was well aware that the Columbia could never be an outlet for western Canada to the sea; and

[3] See my article, Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 682–684.

he recognized the essential reasonableness of the American demand for a share in the harbors about the 49th parallel. Personally he was willing as early as March, 1844, to settle the dispute on the basis of the American line to the Straits.[4]

What gave him pause was the political difficulty of so complete a surrender. Peel's strength in Parliament was mortgaged to an extensive program of domestic reform. That might be jeopardized if the government became exposed to the reproach of having abandoned in America the interests and honor of the nation. The British public to be sure was uninformed as to Oregon and even less interested. Unless the nation was roused it might not feel that its rights and honor were being betrayed. But the Whig Opposition was watchful and among the Whigs was Palmerston!

Lord Palmerston had already demonstrated what he could do under such circumstances in 1842 when he fell foul of the treaty closing the Northeastern boundary controversy. That treaty, though a compromise, was by no means unfavorable to England. Indeed it was probably more favorable than the abortive arbitral award made when Palmerston was secretary for foreign affairs in 1831 by the king of the Netherlands, a judgment which Palmerston would have been willing to accept. Lord Ashburton had obtained over and above that award 893 square miles of the terrain in dispute, and had secured in addition what the military experts of the government had most at heart, a frontier line considerably farther removed than the Dutch line from the river St. Lawrence, one that appeared more easily defensible and better suited to the requirements of a road between Quebec and Fredericton. Lord Ashburton's treaty had been received by the British public with relief if not with enthusiasm. Many notable Whig leaders had approved it and likewise an influential portion of the Whig press. Yet Lord Palmerston in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle* and in Parliament had made it the subject of a sensational partisan attack. He had denounced it as "one of the worst and most disgraceful treaties that England ever concluded";[5] he proposed to brand across it for all time in red letters of shame the word "capitulation"; and he scourged the government which was responsible for it as inept and pusillanimous. He returned to the fire on the occasion of the "Battle of the Maps", and thereafter discharged into the government camp intermittently for several years shells loaded with the charge of "capitulation". His cannon-

[4] Aberdeen to Pakenham, Mar. 4, 1844, British Museum, Aberdeen MSS.

[5] Palmerston to Russell, Sept. 24, 1842, Public Record Office, Russell MSS.

ading proved ineffective. The treaty was too clearly a wise settlement to be made a partisan issue; there was too great division regarding it within the ranks of the Whigs themselves, and the Whig chieftain, Lord John Russell, took his stand too reluctantly and too half-heartedly at the side of his fighting colleague. But the assault gave warning to the Conservative ministry of the danger of agreeing to any future settlement that would lay the government open to the charge of a real capitulation. That was what Lord Aberdeen had in mind when in response to urgent appeals of the American minister at the Court of St. James for a settlement of the Oregon controversy he gave always the same mournful answer—that his government could not concede what previous British governments had again and again refused.[6] The shadow of Lord Palmerston hung during the last two critical years over the only solution of the Oregon controversy that held the prospect of peace.

It was to dispel that shadow that Edward Everett at the end of December, 1845, when the two nations seemed to be drifting helplessly into war over the Oregon question, sent an appeal to Palmerston's political associate, Lord John Russell. In it he eloquently prayed the Whig chieftain to grant immunity to the Conservative government—immunity without which the concessions could not be made to the United States that were necessary to bring the controversy to a pacific close. His letter is well worth reproducing at length. It is an analysis of the Oregon question by an able observer, one who had just returned to America from a four years' service as American minister at the Court of St. James, where he had enjoyed to an unusual degree the confidence of leaders of the government and the Opposition alike.

Boston, U. S. A.
28 Dec. 1845.

My dear Lord John:

In pursuance of an intimation which I made to you before I left London and which seemed acceptable to you, I will now undertake to give you very briefly my view of the existing controversy between the two countries. It is proper in the outset to state, that I am not in the confidence of our own gov-

[6] See Everett to Webster, Dec. 28, 1843. In this private letter Edward Everett reported to the American Secretary of State: "I have strenuously urged upon Lord Aberdeen the *reasonableness* of running the 49th parallel of latitude to the sea, as a principle of compromise. His only difficulty (I really think) is that this proposal has been three times rejected; and the ministry does not dare to agree to terms, which have in all former negotiations been refused." See also Everett to Upshur, Feb. 2, 1844, no. 82; and Everett to Calhoun, Feb. 28, 1845, Massachusetts Historical Society, Everett MSS., despatch no. 269. See also McLane to Buchanan, Mar. 3, 1846, Department of State, England, Despatches, vol. 56, no. 35.

ernment, and know nothing of their views, beyond what may be gathered from the ordinary sources of public and private information. The present state of the controversy seems to be the following. Our government has offered to yours the 49th degree of latitude to the Pacific Ocean, with a free port, or ports as you wish, on the south end of Vancouver's island. You have offered to us the 49th degree till it strikes the Columbia River thence down that river to the Pacific, with a detached territory north of the Columbia, including a port within the Straits of Fuca, and such other free ports as we wish. These offers with the exception of the Free ports on the two sides are the same which were made and rejected in the former negotiations.

Our offer of the 49th, as originally made in 1818, and renewed in 1824 and 1826, was—I have always understood rejected by the British Administration of those days, under the suggestion of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companies, that the navigation of the Columbia river was absolutely necessary to an advantageous possession of any part of the back country partially drained by it. I believe that this representation, as a matter of geographical fact, is entirely unfounded. The bar at the mouth of the Columbia and the terrific surf that breaks upon it make it nearly inaccessible, and all navigation is stopped by the falls at the distance of 80 or 100 miles from the sea. . . . I admit the difficulty, on the part of your Government,—substantially in the same hands now as in 1818–1826, of agreeing to what they then rejected. The point of honor and consistency must be saved; but in proportion as the rejected proposal was really equitable, such modification as may be insisted upon, to save the point of ministerial consistency, ought to be moderate. Such a modification has been offered by our government in the form of free ports on the southern extremity of Vancouver's island. I think that the cession of that extremity would be by us agreed to; in other words that our Government would agree to the 49th parallel till it strikes the sea, leaving to you the whole of Vancouver's Island. This to you is a very important and substantial modification of the proposal formerly rejected.[7] Whether your ministers will accept it is a question for themselves; but their course will no doubt in a great degree depend upon yours. If you choose to rally the public opinion of England against this basis of compromise, it will not be easy for Sir. R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen to agree to it. If you are clearly of opinion, as a point of public interest or honour that this compromise ought not to be agreed to, you will of course encourage the ministers in rejecting it. But if the only point to be saved is one,—*not of national but merely of ministerial consistency,* it will I think deserve your most serious consideration—yours and that of your friends—whether you will encourage and stimulate the government to plunge into a war, *for the sake of adhering to the worst traditions of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh.* . . . I pray you to pardon the freedom of this letter. It is dictated by the feeling, that Peace between the two countries is the great interest of the world, and that its preservation is wrapped up in the folds of your mantle. May God guide you to a wise decision."[8]

An appeal such as this might well have produced in England a re-

[7] But Albert Gallatin had already intimated a willingness to make this modification in the negotiations of 1826. See *ante,* note 1.

[8] Everett to Russell, Dec. 28, 1845. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

sponse other than its author intended. For it was a delicate thing that an American, and particularly one so recently minister to England, should implore a leader of the Whig party to give immunity to a Tory government for the purpose of facilitating a surrender to the United States of the whole substance of a dispute. When the appeal was sent for comment to Lord Palmerston he reacted to it adversely.

C. T. 2 Feb. 1846.

My dear John Russell:

Many thanks for Everett's very skilfull letter which does credit to American diplomacy; and no less to the writer's penetration. . . . The Americans appear to have but one formula for boundary negotiations which runs thus; we say that we have a clear right to the whole of the thing which is in dispute, but we will prove our moderation by ceding to you for ample equivalent a small and comparatively little valuable portion of it; we are all of us determined to seize and keep the remainder whether you will or no; and if you do not agree to these terms you will be the cause of the war which we shall make agst. you. Their notion of the way of saving the honor of the party with whom they are dealing is as if the gentleman on the road after taking the traveller's purse should keep the sovereigns to satisfy his own claims and give back a shilling or two to save the wounded honor of the person with whom he was thus making *an equitable distribution*[9] of the matter in dispute. I have not much studied this Oregon Question, but a look at the map, and Everett's admissions seem to shew that his proposed distribution is somewhat of this character. . . ." [10]

Lord John Russell's reaction, however, was more favorable, and was likewise more significant. In response to the appeal, early in February, 1846, he took the momentous step necessary to preserve Anglo-American peace. On his own responsibility he gave the Conservative minister of foreign affairs assurance of party truce on the Oregon question. "My opinion", he afterwards informed Lord Palmerston, "upon the whole is that we may well and with due regard to our own interests give up the Columbia river, and I have let Aberdeen know privately that he will have no opposition from me on that ground." [11] That meant commitment on the Oregon question not merely of Lord John Russell but of his party associates, since they could not without a party rift publicly denounce what he had approved; it meant that in the ministry, Lord Aberdeen was relieved of the restraints of colleagues arising from political timidity, that at last, as secretary, he had a free hand in the Oregon negotiation—the freedom to make such a treaty of con-

[9] The underscoring is Palmerston's.

[10] Palmerston to Russell, Feb. 2, 1846, Broadlands, Palmerston MSS. Courtesy of Sir Wilfred Ashley.

[11] Russell to Palmerston, Feb. 3, 1846, *ibid.*

cession as personally he had been willing since March, 1844, to conclude. There remained only for the American government to signify its willingness to reopen the suspended negotiations by a courteous notice of the termination of the convention of joint occupation, and a treaty could be drawn that would bring to a close a dispute which for over a year had been a menace to the peace of the world.

Lord John Russell was induced to give this momentous promise not solely, of course, nor even primarily, by the power of an eloquent letter. As a parliamentary leader he based his decisions on weightier considerations. He acted on Edward Everett's appeal because it coincided with what he conceived to be prudent Whig policy. Party interest, as identified in his mind with the good of the state, was what influenced him to grant the Oregon truce, and the student who would know the history of the settlement of 1846 will search for it in British party politics, and particularly in the inner politics of Her Majesty's Whig Opposition.

Whig Opposition politics were directed in these years by no lofty political principles distinguishable from Conservative, either in the field of domestic or foreign administration. Party exigency was almost their sole guide. In the field of domestic politics the two parties differed almost as much within their own ranks as from each other and Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel might have exchanged party leadership with no substantial alteration of views. Whigs and Peelites, indeed, after the announcement by the Conservative ministry of its purpose of repealing the Corn Laws, were in practical coalition for a half year as against the rebellious Protectionists of the Conservative party. In the domain of foreign administration there was an equally slight difference of principle between the two parties. Theoretically the Whig party was sympathetic toward revolutionary liberalism on the continent of Europe, and to give it support favored an entente cordiale with revolutionary France; whereas the Conservative party was favorable to the governments and views of the old Holy Alliance. Yet Lord Palmerston, who had built up the entente cordiale during the Grey ministry, himself wrecked it in the Turco-Egyptian crisis of 1840, in which he aligned England with the three chief autocracies of Europe to defeat and humiliate France; and Lord Aberdeen, on the other hand, made the revival of Anglo-French cordiality the main work and the chief glory of his five years of office.

What distinguished Whig from Conservative administration of foreign affairs was less a principle than a man. It was Lord Palmerston, whose personality and temperament constituted the fighting ground of

British foreign politics throughout the years of the Oregon crisis. Lord Palmerston had been foreign secretary in Whig administrations twice between the years 1830 and 1841, first in that of Lord Grey, the elder, and again in that of Lord Melbourne. He had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all in the first. He had given proof of sagacity and of energy; as a negotiator he had shown moderation; and as a cabinet colleague he had been loyal and coöperative. But under the laxer control of Lord Melbourne he had developed the qualities that characterized the Palmerston of later tradition. He had become high-handed and self-willed, fond of giving the lead to Europe and of leading audaciously where there was danger, rejoicing in movement rather than in quiet, in argumentative and tactical triumphs rather than in the maintenance of good will, giving offense to foreign governments and statesmen by the jauntiness and flippancy of his tone, and exhibiting in general the characteristics which later called forth the embittered description of him as "half hornet, half butterfly".

He had revealed these qualities particularly toward the end of the Melbourne administration, and the resulting reverberations still ran through British politics in the closing years of the Oregon negotiation. In the Turco-Egyptian crisis of 1840 his mode of checking an Egyptian pasha who, with the support of France was warring upon his master, the sultan of Turkey, had wrecked the Anglo-French entente, and brought Europe to the verge of a general war. "He steered the ship [in that crisis] with astonishing self possession and admirable dexterity, and he brought her safely through the storm; but the storm was mainly of his own brewing. A daring pilot in extremity he certainly was, but he was also a pilot who loved to steer straight for the breakers."[12] He displayed these qualities in America and in the Far East, and when he left office in 1841 upon the defeat of the Melbourne government, though his personal prestige was at its highest, he left France embittered and humiliated, the rest of Europe breathless and uneasy, America, as a result of the *impasse* over the Maine boundary, in a dangerous state of irritation, and the Orient closed to British trade by the Opium War.

As a member of the Opposition he was still the stormy petrel of British foreign politics. His purpose there was to concentrate his party's fire upon his successor, Lord Aberdeen, whose management of the foreign office was a direct challenge to his own. Lord Aberdeen was the

[12] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, I. 117–118. I have made free use of the admirable characterizations in this anonymous article.

apostle of peace. In his temperament there was none of the zest of the tournament nor the love of contention that characterized the Whig viscount. He had a dread of war, which he regarded as the bitterest of human calamities, and he conceived of his ministership as an opportunity to clear away controversies old and new that threatened to lead to armed collision. France and America seemed to him particularly to guard the gates of Janus so far as England was concerned, and these two powers he made it his special object, after the irritations of Palmerston's last years, to placate and restore to a spirit of good will. He was in this eminently successful. He was able, in spite of a series of provocative episodes, to reëstablish the entente cordiale with France; and with America, to come to a settlement of controversies that had defied adjustment for generations. But Lord Palmerston regarded his policy as one of utter feebleness and low spirit, prostrating the prestige and honor of England and entailing the ultimate defeat even of its own purposes by encouraging in foreign governments a spirit of encroachment. *"We give up everything"*, he complained to Greville in the autumn of 1842, "universal concession the rule of action, and . . . there can be no difficulty in settling questions if we yield all that is in dispute."[13] "Resistance at home and . . . concession abroad", he protested again in 1844, were the key to Conservative policy,[14] and the Ashburton capitulation, the negotiations over the right of search, the diplomacy of Texas, the direction given to Spanish affairs, the management of the Tahiti and Morocco episodes, all seemed to him to illustrate this feebleness of grasp abroad set off by reaction at home.

This view he undertook to impress upon the public by constant vehement speeches in the House of Commons and by inspired articles in the daily press. He had formed a connection near the close of his term of office with the proprietor of the leading London Whig newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle,* and this became under his tutelage a lash upon the back of Lord Aberdeen. In the *Morning Chronicle* it was not necessary to maintain the same restraints on utterance as in the House of Commons, and there the foreign policy of the government was denounced as cowardly truckling to France and America, and these two countries by way of foil, were pursued with a recklessness of vituperation that gave concern even to the leaders among the Whigs. During the war on the Ashburton Treaty Lord John Russell seems to have thought it necessary to convey to his colleague some anxiety over the course of the

[13] C. C. F. Greville, *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria,* II. 104.
[14] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* LXXVI. 1870–1875.

"Viscount Chronicle", as it was called, but the answer which Palmerston made was: "With regard to the *Chronicle*, I am inclined to doubt the expediency of endeavouring to exercise too minute a control over a paper whose general tendencies are right. A horse sometimes goes the safer for having his head given to him."[15]

To engage thus in a course of international irritation was politically hazardous. The times called not for excitement but for quiet. The Western world in the late 'thirties and early 'forties was in a state of profound business depression following upon the panic of 1837, and merchants and manufacturers in a country which found its prosperity in overseas trade were eager to avoid unnecessary agitations tending to retard the return of business confidence. Spokesmen of the Conservative party in Parliament and in the press played upon this feeling and in replying to Lord Palmerston denounced him and the *Morning Chronicle* and the party which tolerated them as a war faction. The London *Times*, which constituted itself the special defender of Lord Aberdeen though it was independent in politics, never lost an opportunity to contrast the fevered state of British foreign relations at the close of Palmerston's régime with the good will and the quiet under Lord Aberdeen[16] and to stress the injury done to British trade, particu-

[15] Palmerston to Russell, Nov. 14, 1842, Russell MSS. Palmerston went on in this letter to say that he could not recollect having seen any articles in the *Chronicle* about France to which fair objection could be taken, but that "while all the French papers are teeming every day with abuse of England, it cannot be surprising if now and then a newspaper writer's blood should boil over, and his indignation should vent itself in some few remarks; nor, I confess, does it appear to me that such little occasional raps on the knuckles, even if they were given, would have an injurious effect upon our international relations".

[16] See especially London *Times*, Jan. 3, Dec. 29, 1843, Nov. 18, 1844, Mar. 31 Dec. 12, 26, 1845. The article of Dec. 21, 1843, is an illustration: "It forms no part of the conditions of the trust by which the foreign affairs of a great nation are confided to the Ministers of the Crown, that they should strive to assert an irritating and impertinent right of interference on all imaginable occasions; that they should use their power not so much to promote their own laudable designs as to thwart the policy of their neighbours; or that they should make the dignity of the country consist in an arrogant defiance of the world. These indeed were the distinguishing characteristics of the foreign policy which was in full operation under the late Administration, and which still affrights the world with its angry but impotent thunders in the columns of the Opposition press. It is more brilliant to squander money than to adjust the balance of the public accounts; and it is more exciting to dash along in the heady current of strife and of adventure, than to compose the stable framework of those alliances upon which the peace of the world depends. But, happily for the world, the time is, in this country at least, gone by when a nation could be imposed upon by the din and the display of its own follies and crimes, and future Ministers who may attempt to speculate on the pugnacious temper or the irritable vanity of the people will probably perish from political life like the late

larly in America and in the East, by the course which Lord Palmerston had pursued there. According to the *Times,* the Whig ex-secretary was a "great anti-commercial diplomat",[17] and *Punch* pictured him as the "God of War".[18]

For Whig politicians it was particularly embarrassing to be reproached with harboring a war faction. The Whigs were the party of the commercial and manufacturing classes as the Conservatives were of the landed aristocracy, and to incur at a time of business depression the charge of nursing a war element was damaging to the organization. What resulted therefore from Palmerston's activities in the years from 1840 to 1845 was that he produced in the Whig directorate anxiety and resistance, particularly in the group that stood at the right hand of Lord John Russell. From being the stormy petrel of British foreign politics he became that of his own party.

This dissatisfaction evinced itself in episode after episode in the years from 1840 to 1845. In the Turco-Egyptian crisis it took the form of a succession of party crises within the cabinet. Lord John Russell, representing the group that was alarmed at the prospect of a general European war, more than once threatened to resign, which would have brought the government tumbling to the ground.[19]

In the assault on the Ashburton Treaty a large majority of the party directors including its most powerful personages, Lord Clarendon, Lord

Foreign Secretary—distrusted by his own party, despised by the sober sense of the nation, and dreaded by the rest of the world.

"The time is however arrived at which this slow and difficult task of reconciliation may be said to be accomplished. To a very great extent the poisonous seeds which were so profusely scattered by Lord Palmerston in every corner of the habitable globe have been eradicated. Our present object is not to revive old grievances. . . . The names of Affghanistan, China, the United States, Syria, Spain, and France suffice to awaken these associations in every mind; and they mark out, like so many monumental pillars, the huge and irregular circle of the aberrations of the British Cabinet. On each of these points some urgent and alarming difficulty was to be encountered; on none was there any fixed principle of action or permanent pledge of peace. . . . Lord Palmerston in his administration of our foreign affairs either recognized no such principles, or, which amounts to the same thing, he did not scruple to betray them, as when he sacrificed the alliance of France and England to such an object as the re-integration of the Porte into two pashalics of Syria. At home we viewed such conduct with distrust; but abroad the manifestation of such a policy . . . occasioned nothing short of universal terror; for it indicated the transfer of the vast influence of England from the cause of peace to the schemes of discord. . . ."

[17] London *Times,* Aug. 4, 1842.

[18] *Punch,* X. 23.

[19] See G. P. Gooch, ed., *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell, 1840–1878,* vol. I., ch. I.; also H. L. Bulwer, *Life of Viscount Palmerston,* vol. II., bks. XII. and XIII.

Lansdowne, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Spencer, Lord Brougham, Lord Morpeth, Edward Ellice, Charles Buller, Benjamin Hawes, the Barings, and others took exception to their colleague's violence, and in some cases did so openly. Charles Greville on December 20, 1842, records in his diary:

> Clarendon told me that when he was at Bowood there was a sort of consultation between him, Lord Lansdowne, and John Russell, about the 'Morning Chronicle' and Palmerston, . . . Lord John having been already stimulated by the report (which his brother, the Duke, had made him) of the opinions of himself, Lord Spencer, and other Whigs, who had met or communicated together on the same subject. The consequence was that John Russell wrote a remonstrance to Palmerston, in which he told him what these various persons thought with regard to the tone that had been taken on foreign questions, especially the American, and pointed out to him the great embarrassment that must ensue as well as prejudice to the party, if their dissatisfaction was manifested in some public manner when Parliament met. To this Palmerston replied in a very angry letter, in which he said that it was useless to talk to him about the Duke of Bedford, Lord Spencer, and others, as he knew very well that Edward Ellice was the real author of this movement against him. He then contrasted his own services in the cause with that of Ellice, and ended, as I understood, with a tirade against him, and a bluster about what he would do.[20]

The Palmerston letter referred to here has been preserved, and it fits Greville's description:

> Now, as I have no respect whatever for Ellice's opinions when coming straight from himself, I am not prepared to defer to them a bit the more because they come echoed back from others. But if those others choose to follow him in these matters, let them do it. I pretend to guide nobody, except as far as reasons which I may give in Parliament, and arguments which I may there employ, may influence the minds of fair and impartial men. All that I claim for myself is freedom of action according to the best judgment I can form of the interests of my country; and that freedom I shall always exercise as long as it may please Heaven to continue to me my faculties, whether Radicals or old Whigs are pleased or displeased with the line I may think it my duty to take. If I am right, I am quite sure that my arguments and reasoning will have weight in the country, even if not in the House of Commons. If I am wrong, I shall be proved to be so, and perhaps then I may alter my own opinions.
>
> I quite agree with you that we ought not, as an Opposition, to provoke or irritate either America or France, or indeed any other foreign power; but, on the other hand, I do not see why we should truckle to them.[21]

[20] Greville, II. 130–131.

[21] This letter is printed, though with elision of names, in H. L. Bulwer, *Life of Viscount Palmerston*, III. 113–118. It is worth reading in its entirety.

According to Greville, Lord John "wrote again, temperately, remonstrating against the tone he [Palmerston] had adopted, and telling him that the persons whose sentiments he had expressed were very competent to form opinions for themselves, without the influence or aid of Ellice. This letter elicited one much more temperate from Palmerston, in which he expressed his readiness to co-operate with the party, and to consult for the common advantage, but that he must in the course of the session take an opportunity of expressing his own opinions upon the questions of foreign policy which would arise." [22]

Not merely anxiety but party suspicion was produced by the violence with which Palmerston assailed the Ashburton Treaty. Some of his colleagues could explain his eagerness in attack only on the theory that he was making a play for party leadership—that he was undertaking to outbid Lord John. This was the feeling entertained, according to Lord Brougham, by many Whigs,[23] and something of the sort seems to have been in the mind of the Duke of Bedford when he wrote to Lord John, his brother, on November 6, 1842:

> Rely on it that if Palm. attempts or rather continues to attempt to give a direction to the party and to public opinion thru' the newspapers without concert he will dissatisfy the Whig party very much. He has now got possession of the M. Chronicle and some influence with the Globe, and is so industrious in his writings and so off hand in all he says that he will disgust the best of the old Whig party.[24] I see that it is not only on the American

[22] Greville, II. 130–131. The *Journal* is particularly illuminating on the politics of the "Ashburton War". On Sept. 24, 1842, after a visit to Palmerston, Greville wrote: "It was amusing to me to read in the columns of the 'Chronicle' all that I had been hearing Palmerston say, *totidem verbis;* his articles were merely a repetition of his talk, and that as exactly as if the latter had been taken down in shorthand. As far as I can judge, he will, however, fail to carry public opinion with him; he will not be entirely supported by the writers on his own side, nor by his political adherents . . . the fact is that Palmerston's determination to find fault with everything that is done in the Foreign Office, and the indiscriminate abuse which he heaps upon every part of our foreign policy, deprives his opinion of the weight which it would be entitled to, if he was only tolerably impartial. I never saw so much political bitterness as that which rankles in the hearts of himself and his wife. He abuses the acts of the Government, but he always does so with an air of gaiety and good humour . . . but under this gay and gallant exterior there burns a fierce hostility, and a resolution to attack them upon every point, and a more unscrupulous assailant never took the field. She talks a great deal more than he does, and it is easy to see, through her graceful, easy manner and habitual urbanity, how impatient they are of exclusion from office, and how intolerant of any dissent from or opposition to his policy and opinions." *Ibid.*, II. 105–106.

[23] Brougham to Napier, Nov. 4, 1842, British Museum, Napier MSS.

[24] The old Whigs—the Russells, the Greys, the Spencers, and others—never altogether admitted Palmerston to the bosom of the party. They considered him always something of an interloper, and he was, in truth, a Canningite rather than a Whig.

question but also on the public affairs of France that a system of irritation is kept up, after the fashion of Thiers which we condemn here. If the M. Chronicle wd. leave the French papers alone it wd. be much better, but Palm. is not to be ruled. . . .[25]

Palm. was indeed not to be ruled. Regardless of the feelings or suspicions of his colleagues he went his way. He carried his war on the Ashburton Treaty well into 1843, though with so little party support that in the midst of the final debate on it for lack of a quorum the House was counted out.[26] In January, 1845, Charles Greville visited him at Broadlands and found him "full of vigour and hilarity, and overflowing with diplomatic swagger. He said we might hold any language we pleased to France and America, and insist on what we thought necessary, without any apprehension that either of them would go to war, as both knew how vulnerable they were, France with her colonies, and America with her slaves, a doctrine to which Lord Ashburton by no means subscribes." [27]

In January, 1845, Thomas Macaulay sought to warn his colleague against views of this sort in a communication that lost none of its force by its tact:

Many thanks for your most interesting letter. I agree with almost every word of it. That your foreign policy was energetic and brilliant is allowed even by your detractors. I am firmly convinced that it was also wise and truly pacific. I concur too in your opinion that we have not, since we were in opposition, done anything to merit the imputation that we are a war party. Nevertheless that imputation, as you are aware, has been thrown on us by the men now in power here, by the French tribune, by the press both of France and of Germany, and perhaps as you suspect, by intriguers in our own ranks. It has as you observe found credit with many foolish and ignorant members of our party. I should go farther, and should say that it has found credit with many members of our party who however unjust and ill informed on this point, cannot be called generally foolish or ignorant. Nobody, I am sure, knows better than yourself that of all imputations which can be thrown on a body of politicians, that of being a war party is, in the present temper of the public mind, the most damaging. If this be so, we ought, I think seriously to consider by what means, compatible with the faithful discharge of our duty to our country, we can get rid of this imputation. And, indeed, to clear ourselves from unjust aspersions, and to keep our friends united, is a part, and not an unimportant part of our duty to our country.

You will think that I am too much inclined to look at foreign politics with reference to their bearing on domestic politics. The truth is that with

[25] Bedford to Russell, Nov. 6, 1842, Russell MSS.

[26] *Hansard's Debates,* LXVII. 1313.

[27] Greville, II. 264.

respect to foreign politics properly so called, I shall not venture to offer you any advice. For I know that you understand them infinitely better than I. But I have some opportunity of observing the temper of our party both in parliament and out of it. Now the temper of our party is one of the circumstances, though only one of the circumstances, which we ought to consider when we debate questions touching foreign policy. An English statesman cannot take his own way like Richelieu or Alberoni. It is to no purpose that he concerts the best plans for the security and glory of the Empire, that he sees to the very bottom of the designs of all the courts of Europe, that he knows exactly how far he may safely dare and where it will be prudent to stop, unless he carries with him the parliament and the country. It may be an evil that a man of your eminent capacity for the conduct of great affairs, should be under the necessity of consulting the prejudices of people who do not know the difference between the Texas question and the Oregon question, and who confound Doost Mahommed with Mehemet Ali. But this is the price which we pay for the advantages of representative government. It is vain to complain of the stupidity and ignorance of our friends. If they were all as stupid and ignorant as Joseph Hume or Williams of Coventry, it would still be necessary for us to win their confidence, because without that confidence we can effect little or nothing for the public.

I am therefore very deeply mortified when I see indiscretions committed which tend to alienate our friends and to accredit the calumnious assertions of our enemies. . . .

But I must stop; and indeed I ought to ask pardon for my prolixity. I am not aware that your views and mine are at all incompatible. You have certain opinions as to the course which England ought to take in her dealings with foreign powers; and in those opinions I generally concur. But in order that those opinions may find favour with Parliament and with the country, I hold it to be indispensable that we should appear before the public as what we really are, sincere friends of peace.[28]

No argument, however, except one, could bring Lord Palmerston in these years to alter his course. That one was the bitterness of disappointment of office. In December, 1845, Sir Robert Peel, on account of divisions within the cabinet over a proposal to repeal the Corn Laws, resigned. The queen called upon Lord John Russell to form a government, which the latter, after careful consultation with the leaders of his party over questions of policy, agreed to do.

Now Lord John undertook to apportion the different offices. He saw Lord Palmerston and told him that the Queen had some apprehension that his return to the Foreign Office might cause great alarm in other Countries, and particularly in France, and that this feeling was still more strongly manifested in the City. Whether under these circumstances he would prefer some other office for instance the Colonies? Lord Palmerston declared that he was not at all anxious for office and should much regret that his accession should in any way embarrass Lord John, that he was quite prepared to sup-

[28] Macaulay to Palmerston, Jan. 9, 1845, Broadlands, Palmerston MSS. Courtesy of Sir Wilfred Ashley.

port him out of office, but that his taking another Department than his former one would be a public recognition of the most unjust accusations that had been brought against him, that he had evinced throughout a long official life his disposition for peace and only in one instance broke with France, that that matter was gone by and that nobody had a stronger conviction of the necessity to keep in amity with that power than himself. Upon this Lord John said that he could not form a Government without him and shewed himself quite satisfied with Lord Palmerston's declaration.[29]

If Lord John was satisfied with this declaration, not so other Whigs. A declaration could not erase from their minds a record of five years. Lord Grey (the son of the former prime minister) was in particular unsatisfied. He anticipated, if Palmerston should return to his old post, controversy and even war with France or America. At the last moment he expressed his determination not to enter Lord John's cabinet unless Palmerston were assigned some other department than that of foreign affairs. His own wish, he afterward explained to Lord John, would not have governed him except that he had found it "universally concurred in. I believe there is not one of those who were to have been our colleagues who does not think that his taking a different office would have been a great advantage."[30] To Lord John, however, such dissension within the party was a final discouragement to taking office. His would have been at best a minority government, and to go forward in it without the united support of his colleagues, and without Grey as party spokesman in the Lords, seemed impossible. He abandoned his attempt, therefore, and the queen found it necessary to call Sir Robert Peel again to her aid.

For Lord John thus to fail after he had agreed to form a government was a blow to himself and to his party. The reasons for his failure were promptly uncovered in the press, and in the Conservative and independent journals the "Whig abortion", as it was gleefully termed,[31]

[29] Queen Victoria, "Memo of Parting Interview with Lord John Russell, Windsor Castle, Dec. 20, 1845", British Museum, Peel MSS.

[30] Grey to Russell, Dec. 19, 1845. Published in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, I. 129–131. Thomas Macaulay was among those who privately concurred with Lord Grey in his objections to Palmerston's return to the foreign office.

[31] London *Spectator*, Dec. 27, 1845. The thesis advanced in some accounts that Lord John Russell used the Grey-Palmerston episode as a pretext to escape forming a minority government is not borne out by the facts. Russell and his party associates voted to accept the queen's invitation to form a government at a party conclave on Dec. 18 after a full discussion of the difficulties of governing in a minority and in spite of failure to obtain from Peel more than a general promise of support in abolishing the Corn Laws. The Grey-Palmerston episode occurred on the following day in connection with the distribution of offices. If Russell had wished to avoid office he had his opportunity to do so with

was represented as new proof of Whig impotence, a reflection on the party leadership, and an affront to the queen. Even the Whig journals were reduced to debating which of their two leaders, Palmerston or Grey, was most at fault. Le Marchant, one of the party chiefs, thought to extract sweet from bitter by the reflection that at least the party had demonstrated that it was not so greedy for office as its critics had charged at the end of the Melbourne administration when it had stayed in office two years too long. Macaulay, however, replied that the discredit was only increased. "We stayed in when we ought to have gone out, and now we stay out when we ought to have gone in."[32]

Especially damaging to the party was the alarm with which the business and governmental circles of Europe had received the news of Palmerston's prospective return to power. "The City", as the queen had observed, had been deeply apprehensive.[33] Public securities in London and on the Continent had fallen,[34] and in Paris the head of the house of Rothschild was reported to have commented on the unhappy faculty which Palmerston had of bringing down the "fonds" of all Europe without warning.[35] Similar reports of uneasiness and objection had come from the various European chancelleries. If Louis Philippe did not actually express "insurmountable repugnance" to Lord Palmerston, as Henry Reeve reported, or refer to him as "l'ennemi de ma maison", the Paris and London papers at least believed that such were his sentiments, and the accession of Palmerston, it was thought in Paris, would shortly be followed by the fall of Guizot, who was a defender of the entente cordiale, and by Thiers's return to power.[36] And when the news came of the failure of Lord John's attempt at government, the sigh of relief which went up from all Europe was illuminating. Guizot wrote to the French ambassador in London, "Ma joie est grande".[37] Palmerston, he said, had recently been making advances to him. "On est venu en 24 heures me communiquer deux lettres de lui, très explicites, très amicales, fort convenables, du reste, pour lui-même, maintenant son passé avec dignité, tout en promettant le meilleur avenir. Je ne

credit to himself and to his party on Dec. 18. It is unlikely that he would have waited for the pretext of party dissension, which was discreditable to his leadership and to his party in the eyes of the public. But see A. L. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, p. 945.

[32] Greville, II. 339.

[33] *Ante*, pp. 667–668.

[34] London *Times*, Dec. 22, 1845; see also N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 24, 1846.

[35] Greville, II. 345–346.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Guizot to Jarnac, Dec. 22, 1845, Aberdeen MSS.

doute pas qu'il eût eu bonne intention. Mais le caractère et l'habitude sont plus forts que l'intention."[38]

Prince Metternich, according to the British ambassador in Vienna, received the news of Palmerston's prospective accession with deep anxiety. "When, however, it was known that Lord John Russell had failed in his attempt, and that Sir Robert Peel had, with most of his former colleagues resumed the Government of the country, his satisfaction was very great. He sent for me, and read to me the account which he had received, and having concluded, he added: 'Maintenant, mon cher, nous pouvons dormir tranquillement en nos lits.'"[39]

Such a demonstration, abroad and at home, of the effect of Palmerston's activities was a lesson to Whig leaders. It taught them that even for an Opposition intransigence in foreign affairs may be a two-edged sword. It taught Lord John Russell in particular the need of taking a hand in formulating the foreign policy of the Opposition, of counteracting by his own efforts, since Palmerston was not to be controlled, the damaging impression abroad that the Whig party was in the hands of a war faction.

On the Oregon question Lord John himself had peace amends to make. He had delivered an aggressive speech in Parliament the preceding April replying to President Polk's inaugural. He had created in it an impression of belligerence on the Oregon question and of unfriendliness in general toward the United States. He had criticized the spread of American slave territory and the lust for territorial aggrandizement exemplified in the annexation of Texas. He had predicted that the indefiniteness of the southern boundary of Texas would invite still further American aggression upon Mexico. He pronounced the President's statement on Oregon a "blustering announcement", a thing that perhaps hardly needed to be said, and made an aggressive defense in turn of British title to Oregon and in particular to the Columbia River boundary. The Columbia he declared to be a valuable highway and harbor, which added to the confusion already existing on that point in British minds. He believed the Columbia to be "the only port . . . on that coast, . . . whilst, in order to show the extent of the river, it is enough to state that it is 1,600 yards wide, at a distance of 90 miles from the mouth. It is obvious that the increase of trade which must take place between this [Oregon] country and China will render it more important, as that is the only port on that part of the coast. There may

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Magenis to Aberdeen, Jan. 12, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

be one established near Nootka Sound; but it is not, I believe, approachable, and is surrounded by high mountains; and probably will not for hundreds of years, if even then, be made available." He took his stand squarely on the line of the Columbia as the partition line of Oregon, taking no account even of Canning's headland offer of 1826 until informed of it by Sir Robert Peel.[40] In America, where he had been considered a friend of democratic governments, his speech produced a distinct shock.

It was in a very different mood that Lord John returned, after the "Whig abortion", to the Oregon question. The question was then in its most critical stage; it was the only explosive issue at that time in British foreign relations. He took his stand on it now unreservedly for concession and conciliation, and he took it with a forcefulness and an explicitness that betrayed his purpose to fix it as his party's stand, and to fix it thus in the full sight of the world. On January 12, 1846, on being presented the freedom of Glasgow, he proposed to his audience the toast, "Peace with all nations". He said as reported by the Manchester *Guardian:*

> He need hardly say they desired peace with all nations, and there was only one nation at present with whom any serious question of difference might occur, and that was the United States of America. He wished to repeat what he said that morning, that the point of honour upon which nations might be in such a state of difference as to be impossible to be conciliated, did not now exist as a point of difference between them and the United States.—(Cheers.) When the president of the United States made his inaugural message, it did strike him that there were in that message declarations to which Great Britain, as an independent power, could not submit. Since that time, it appeared by the late message of the president, that a proposition for a compromise was made to her majesty's minister at Washington. Now, after that, without entering on the question whether the terms offered were sufficient or not, and the sufficiency of those terms would, he trusted, be deliberately considered by her majesty's government, the proposition showed that the government of the United States were ready to settle this question by negotiation. The question of more or less territory,—whether they were to obtain one-half, and the United States one-half,—whether they were to obtain a harbour in a particular position, or the United States to have that harbour, these were questions on which it would be disgraceful for two such nations to go to war.—(Immense cheering.) He begged to state thus briefly those views, because he thought declarations had been made on the subject of a very pernicious tendency. He believed the question was now in this position—that the majority of the people of the United States, and the majority of the people in this kingdom, wishing heartily all peace, the respective governments would be able to arrange this

[40] *Hansard's Debates,* LXXIX. 178–201.

matter without going to war.—(Cheers.) With these few words he begged to give, 'Peace with all nations.'—(Great cheering).[41]

Commenting editorially on these remarks a few days later, the independent London *Spectator* observed:

> One point on which he bestowed some pains is remarkable. He proposed the toast or sentiment of 'Peace with all nations,' and made a little lecture at Ministers on the necessity of bringing the [Oregon] negotiations with the United States to a peaceful issue. Can the man, you ask, who speaks in this way, seriously have meant to intrust the Foreign Office to Lord Palmerston? Why do you not see that that appointment is the very cause of the lecture? Lord John is doing his best to keep the warlike tendencies of his friend's method of diplomacy out of sight.[42]

Lord John gave even more striking evidence of Whig penitence in Parliament at the opening of the new session. On January 23, 1846, in the debate following the speech from the throne, he took occasion publicly to rebuke Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, for having rejected, without reference to his government, President Polk's offer to partition the Oregon Country by the line of the 49th parallel. "I confess", he said, "I think that was a hasty proceeding upon the part of the Representative of her Majesty." [43]

Nor was Lord John's Oregon intervention limited to mere general approval in public of the policy of concession. Early in February, 1846, on receipt of Edward Everett's letter, he privately gave Lord Aberdeen the momentous truce assurance regarding the specific issue of the surrender of the Columbia. And this he did without previous notification to Lord Palmerston!

Lord Palmerston was obliged, also, to yield to the logic of the events of December, though his conversion was neither permanent nor prompt. By his later career he bore out the truth of Guizot's observation that the force of habit and character would ultimately prevail in him over good intentions. He postponed his public penance until he was brought again in spring, after the winter of Whig misfortune, under the warming influence of the hope of office. By spring the Conservative party was completely shattered. Peel's former Protectionist supporters, who considered themselves betrayed by his conversion to the abolition of the Corn Laws, pursued him in Parliament and out with relentless fury. His life was in the hands of Lord John throughout the session of 1846,

[41] Manchester *Guardian*, Jan. 17, 1846.
[42] London *Spectator*, Jan. 17, 1846.
[43] *Hansard's Debates*, LXXXIII. 152.

and the political world knew it was being spared only until the great reform which Whigs alone could not encompass was placed upon the statute books. Prospective return to office rendered it incumbent upon Palmerston to quiet the apprehensions and party dissensions of December. He proceeded, therefore, in the spring of 1846 to make his peace with the world. He did it partly by maintaining silence himself on foreign affairs in Parliament, and partly by inducing the *Morning Chronicle* to lower its tone. It was a change of heart that did not escape the keen observation of the London *Times*. Upon the fall of the Peel government in the summer of 1846 its editor wrote:

> Seven months have elapsed since we were induced, by what then appeared to be the abrupt termination of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, to take a parting survey of the events which had marked, and the principles which had guided, the foreign policy of the Government for the last five years. The interval of time which has elapsed since last December has largely added to the tribute of respect and gratitude which we then paid to the Minister especially intrusted with the foreign relations of the country; and the incidents which caused or accompanied Lord John Russell's failure in the attempt to form an Administration at that time, demonstrated that the force of the contrast between the Foreign Secretary and his proposed successor was felt, not only by this country and the world, but even in the impervious precincts of the Whig party. There is, happily, no ground or occasion to repeat that contrast at the present time. No sooner had hopes of office removed the despondency of indefinite opposition than a spirit of tacit acquiescence, tending to imitation, succeeded the reckless and absurd system of attack which had been directed for several years against the foreign policy of the Government. A total silence on these important topics was observed in Parliament; and even the principal organ of the Whig party in the press participated in the same mild influence. The lesson of last December was not lost upon so acute a statesman as Lord Palmerston. He perceived, as quickly as his opponents, that a Minister whose accession to power is viewed with consternation, distrust, and hostility by every Cabinet in the world, was *ipso facto* disqualified from maintaining those amicable relations with other States which he must desire to cultivate, and from exercising that influence which he ought to possess. An excursion to Paris at Easter sufficed to convince our neighbours, that whatever may be the defects of the Whig Foreign Secretary, they do not consist in a sombre or deliberate hostility to the French nation, and a decent understanding has been re-established between the parties, which we hope no fresh ebullitions of impetuosity will interrupt.[44]

Special homage to the peace opinion of the world was rendered by Palmerston in the Easter excursion, here mentioned, to Paris. The visit was his first in sixteen years, and by French statesmen and the French press it was recognized as a quest for the reconciliation that was neces-

[44] London *Times*, June 29, 1846.

sary to his return to office. This end it quite achieved. The spectacle of so redoubtable a warrior come on a pilgrimage to Canossa flattered and disarmed Paris. Guizot reported to Lord Aberdeen:

> Il est en droit de dire, qu'il a été bien reçu. On a vu, dans son voyage, une réparation du passé, un temoignage éclatant du besoin, et du désir, qu'il ressentait de se montrer bien avec la France. Déjà, au mois de décembre dernier, les incidents de votre crise ministérielle, et l'obstacle qu' avaient opposé au retour de Lord Palmerston les souvenirs de 1840, avaient flatté l'amour propre de notre public. Sa venue à Paris dans le but évident d'effacer ces souvenirs a été une nouvelle satisfaction. L'animosite s'est calmée. La curiosité et la courtoisie sont venues a sa place.
>
> Lord Palmerston n'a rien negligé pour cultiver cette disposition. Il est allé avec empressement, au devant du bon accueil. Il a vu tout le monde. Il a répété à tout le monde qu'il etait, autant que personne, ami de la paix, de la France, partisan de l'entente cordiale, et bien décidé a la continuer, s'il lui arrivait de revenir au pouvoir.[45]

Lord Aberdeen in reply to this letter wrote:

> I understand that Lord Palmerston is quite delighted with his reception at Paris; and I should have been very sorry if he had returned with any other feelings. As my great object, whether in or out of office, is to strengthen the good understanding between the two countries, I rejoice that any possible cause of estrangement should be removed. Lord Palmerston may very possibly again fill the office which I now hold; and, in that case, I think you will have done well by enabling him to come here pleased and satisfied, and confident of a cordial reception by the Government which he had most reason to dread.
>
> It would have been a very poor compliment to me had you sent back Lord Palmerston discontented and affronted; and, in truth, no one would have regretted it more than I should have done, from the manner in which it might have affected our future relations. I have never desired to injure Lord Palmerston; on the contrary, at the time of our Ministerial crisis in December, I endeavoured by every means in my power to smooth his advent to office. Party men, or mere politicians, will not understand this conduct, and I doubt if Lord Palmerston comprehends it himself, but you will have no such difficulty.
>
> Whatever may have been the effect in Paris of Lord Palmerston's visit, it has been of the greatest service to him in this country. It has proved to the great merchants and capitalists of the city, who were very apprehensive of the effect likely to be produced by his accession to power, that he is not only tolerated but cherished by the Government and people who were supposed to be most hostile to him.[46]

[45] Guizot to Aberdeen, Apr. 28, 1846. See also Guizot to Aulaire, Apr. 28, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

[46] Aberdeen to Guizot, May 5, 1846, Aberdeen MSS. Lord Aberdeen was genuine in the sentiments expressed in this letter; still, he and Peel felt a little annoyed at the French government for having removed by their reception of Palmerston an obstacle to the return of the Whig party to power. Peel wrote to Aberdeen after reading Guizot's letter: "I care very little about these things, but the reception given in this country by the

The visit to Paris was observed and approved in the British press. The *Spectator* reported that Lord Palmerston had been widely "introduced into good and great society where he has been diligently 'doing the amiable' ". It continued:

> If his motives for this opportune trip after an absence of sixteen years are only to be guessed, the probable effects of it are obvious enough. Some said that when the Whigs last came into office, King Louis Philippe expressly objected to Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. That the astute old King should commit such an impertinence, is unlikely. According to another guess, a reluctance was felt in a mansion whose hospitality Louis Philippe had shared,[47] to select as the special channel of communication with France, the King's 'favourite aversion.' No doubt, it would have been very awkward; and it would therefore be much more convenient to the agreeable Viscount if he could remove all those little dislikes. So he has been making a round of calls in Paris, just as a candidate for the English Parliament calls on the voters. If such a thing were done by a French statesman in London, what would not the Paris papers exclaim against the truckling to 'la perfide Albion'? We British have no such inflammable suspicions. We have no very lively feelings at all about Lord Palmerston's present plans; and, in the possible event of his return to office, should he possess the good will of the Parisians, and should he feel some necessity for retaining that good will, we in England should be all the better pleased—should think him all the cleverer for it, and all the safer as a Minister.
>
> But the most interesting part of the matter is the effect of personal intercourse in softening even national animosities. . . . Lord Palmerston was accounted in Paris as the evil genius of Europe. The evil genius visits Paris. The eye seeks his foot, and lo! it is not cloven. He walks, he bows, he smiles! He is invited to dinner, and he comes! He eats, and can of course digest; he listens, and therefore can ruminate. He utters liberal sentiments. In short, he is human and not inhumane. If you tickle him, he will laugh though, of course, the Parisians did not ascertain that fact experimentally. . . . The Devil is not so black as he is painted. King Louis Philippe is quite charmed with Lord Palmerston; the events of 1840, it is now believed in Paris, were but an official necessity, like the big talking in the Chambers two or three years ago.
>
> What a pity this same plan is not universally applied. Let Queen Victoria begin by inviting President Polk to dinner, and asking General Cass or Mr. Allen to look in to tea; there is no saying what remarkable enlightenment of views on the Oregon question might follow, and not illegitimately follow, such an interchange of amenities.[48]

Queen and the Government to a political opponent of M. Guizot (Thiers) was different from that which has been given in Paris to Lord Palmerston. The difference was greater than any difference in the positions of the two parties could justify." Peel to Aberdeen, Apr. 30, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

Guizot took warm exception to the word "cherished", in his reply to Lord Aberdeen. See Guizot to Aberdeen, May 10, 1846, and Madame de Lieven to Aberdeen, May 9, 1846, Aberdeen MSS.

[47] The reference is to Queen Victoria.

[48] London *Spectator*, Apr. 18, 1846.

No further interchange of amenities was necessary. Lord Aberdeen was able to dispatch to America in May, 1846, terms of an Oregon Treaty that without a single alteration proved acceptable to the American Senate. He found the security to do so in the chastened mood of the Whig Opposition, and in particular that of its "enfant terrible". He found the haze of political smoke that still remained from the crisis of 1840, the assault on the Ashburton Treaty, and the "Battle of the Maps" a screen under which to win the peace of the Pacific Northwest.[49]

Whig penitence was further reflected in the reception accorded the Oregon Treaty in England. On the last day of the Peel government news of the Senate ratification arrived dramatically in London, and the prime minister in his valedictory address was able to announce to Parliament the terms of the settlement. As compared with the terms for which previous British governments had held out, or the terms of the Maine boundary settlement, they represented a surrender. Yet no vials of party wrath were poured on this treaty. On the contrary, Parliament and the press received it with universal satisfaction. Lord Palmerston himself was able to say of it in responding to Sir Robert Peel:

> I should be sorry to allow one of the latter topics of the right hon. baronet's speech to pass, without noticing the general and deep pleasure which the announcement he has made respecting the United States must excite in the remotest corners of the Empire. In every quarter it will be learned with entire satisfaction that the unfortunate differences between this country and the United States have been brought to a termination which, as far as we can at present judge, seems equally favourable to both parties.[50]

It was of this settlement that Lord Palmerston had written privately to Lord John Russell in February, 1846, when it was proposed by Edward Everett that it was of the same nature "as if the gentleman on the road after taking the traveller's purse should keep the sovereigns to satisfy his own claims and give back a shilling or two to save the wounded honor of the person with whom he was thus making *an equitable distribution* of the matter in dispute".[51]

British party politics have woven their thread into the texture of American history in strange patterns, some of them as yet but faintly visible. They have woven discord more often than harmony and twice

[49] For a discussion of other influences making for peace in the Oregon negotiation, see my article on the Oregon Pioneers and the Boundary, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 681–699.

[50] London *Times*, June 30, 1846. The speech was slightly revised in phraseology for *Hansard*, but the concluding portion is identical in both reports. See *Hansard's Debates*, LXXXVII. 1057.

[51] See *ante*, p. 658.

they have helped to produce the tangle of war. They came near to producing war in the Oregon controversy, for the dread of party clamor was what induced the British government to postpone a settlement until passions had been aroused in the United States almost to the point of explosion. Because of a distorted Opposition charge of capitulation as applied to a treaty in the American Northeast the British government was restrained from agreeing to a capitulation that was real and necessary in the Pacific Northwest. But partisanship consisting of intransigence in external matters proved to have been unprofitable by December, 1845, and the result was that in the following spring, on the Oregon question, the lion and the lamb of British foreign politics were able to lie down in peace together.

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REFORM PERIODICALS AND FEMALE REFORMERS
1830–1860

REFORM periodicals and female reformers were not unknown in America before Frances Wright began to edit the *Free Enquirer* in 1828, but until that year there was little connection between the two phenomena. No publication directed by a woman had attempted to regenerate erring humanity, nor had any periodical intent upon bettering the world summoned the ladies of the country to stand forth in their might against some menacing evil. When women were addressed it was that they might be "amused and instructed"—supplied with short stories, a few pages of verse, and a generous amount of admonition on such matters of conduct as the selection of a husband, the reading of good books, and the sort of training suitable for their station. Occasionally a periodical seeking the patronage of women declared that it proposed to advocate sensible education, to urge the care of the health, and even to stress the rights and duties of women. But such magazines were in no sense devoted to reform, nor disposed to do any agitating for a cause.

The lady-editors who by 1828 were beginning to take charge of periodicals for their own sex had no thought of sponsoring questionable projects. They were intent rather upon disarming criticism and proving that nothing need be feared from their harmless conservatism. Changing the social order was far from their minds, and any advocate of subversive doctrines was anathema to them. It was not in the columns of the many "ladies' magazines" that reform movements were to be presented to women from 1830 to 1860, nor were the editors of such undertakings to endanger their success by rashly espousing any unpopular cause. Yet during those thirty years a group of periodicals definitely addressed to women, and very largely edited by women, clamored loudly for some Right, or agitated vigorously against some Abuse.

Between these outspoken publications and their decorous sister-journals there was a great gulf, in spite of the fact that both were dependent upon women for their existence. Such well-known ventures as *Godey's, Graham's,* and *Peterson's* looked with scornful amusement upon these overserious contemporaries, and dismissed them as completely negligible. Most of them lived only a brief period and are total-

ly forgotten to-day; many of them were wildly absurd; nevertheless, taken together, as a group, they make their little contribution to the ever changing American scene, and supply a chapter of their own in any account of American magazines.

With the *Free Enquirer,* edited by Frances Wright, the outstanding female reformer of her day, the story of these periodicals may properly be said to begin. This weekly paper made its first appearance in New York, on October 29, 1828, and proposed to deal with a wide variety of subjects in its "single and honest desire to promote the cause of human improvement".[1] It did not, in any special sense, address itself to feminine readers, although it repeatedly endeavored "to open the eyes of the gentler sex to the nature of their situation in society, and to excite their attention to the discovery of some remedy for the unjust disabilities to which law and custom subjected them".[2] For the most part it aroused consternation among the "gentler sex" instead of opening their eyes, and brought about a great drawing aside of skirts. The radical Miss Wright lectured in public, a performance sacred to man in the 1820's, and openly attacked the influence of the clergy over the feminine world. Even though she argued ably for the rights of married women, she received little aid from those whose interests she espoused. In her attempts "to diffuse truth and dissipate prejudice" through the columns of her paper, few women supported her. The fact, however, that a woman could come before the country in a magazine devoted to reform, and spread her views abroad, must have furnished example and incentive to many followers, even though they disapproved both of her and her doctrines. At any rate, during the next three decades, periodicals of every conceivable sort sprang up thick and fast, urging upon women the necessity of improving somebody or something.

On January 9, 1830, New York ladies possessed of crusading zeal were offered an opportunity to exercise it in a cause morally respectable and unallied to any dangerous agitator. The New York *Amulet and Ladies' Literary and Religious Chronicle*[3] saluted prospective readers on that day with its opening number, and proposed each fortnight thereafter to do what it could to "check intemperance and infidelity". To that end it declared its intention of "portraying the deformity and the deleterious consequences of these deadly evils" by means of tales, sketches, and essays. An opening poem entitled "The Editor to his

[1] *Free Enquirer,* Oct. 29, 1828.

[2] *Ibid.,* Aug. 5, 1829.

[3] Edited by T. Fisk. Vol. I., and scattered copies are in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. (referred to below as A. A. Soc.).

Patrons" modestly acknowledged the need of help in this new enterprise and gave assurance of its unimpeachable character:

> As one who launches on an unknown sea
> His little bark, adventurous is he
> Who writes and prints; he can but spread his sail,
> Approving patrons must supply the gale.
> . . . . . .
> But this allow me, worthy friends, to state
> With honest pride,—upon our vessel's freight
> There is not in it, nor shall ever be,
> One line that modesty would blush to see;
> Nothing that to the eye of candour shown
> Morality would blot, or Piety disown.[4]

This candid effusion was followed by Moral Tale Number One, "written for the *Amulet* by a highly gifted poet of America", in which was set forth "the confession of a Victim", reduced through drink to a miserable old age in an almshouse. Little essays on True Religion, Atheism, Home, and The Female Heart made up the remaining contents, and bore out the promise given by the editor in his opening poem. Later issues supplied similar offerings, and evidently found some favor in the city, for after a few weeks the publisher announced that his subscribers had increased "to over three thousand". The prospectus for the second volume, in January, 1831, announced that the paper would continue to combine instruction with amusement by giving prominent place in every number to original tales—but only to such as served for the promotion of truth and the enlightenment of the race.

The purpose of this little journal and its appeal to women readers attracted the attention of a lady in Boston who was, at the moment, struggling to produce an irreproachable periodical for the socially correct of her city. Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, later editor for forty years of *Godey's Lady's Book*, but in 1830 editing the *Ladies' Magazine* of Boston, noted the opening numbers of the *Amulet and Ladies' Chronicle* with apprehension. Periodicals for women would soon lose their prestige if such crude offerings went unrebuked. In the February issue of the *Ladies' Magazine*, therefore, she paid her respects to the newcomer with the caustic comment:

> This semi-monthly publication is devoted to the work of checking Infidelity and Intemperance. As one of the most noted infidel teachers at present in our country (though fortunately not a native) happens to be a woman, there may be some excuse for preparing a paper opposed to her principles, pur-

[4] New York *Amulet and Ladies' Literary and Religious Chronicle*, Jan. 9, 1830.

posely for the sex; otherwise we should deem such a proceeding a libel on the ladies of America. However, there may be ladies among us inclined to infidelity and intemperance, and if so we advise them immediately to subscribe for the *New York Amulet.*

There was to be no confusing of audiences. Mrs. Hale and the lady-editors who emulated her proposed to remain in the drawing-room with their needlework, their books, and their elevated conversations. Let others pry about into questionable corners if they wished.

Disapproval did little to check the reforming upstarts. By the time the *Amulet* had drawn a small body of readers together, a *Female Advocate,* more audacious than its predecessor, was announcing its determination to enlist "the females of New York in the work of moral improvement and the elevation of the fair sex". For several years before its initial appearance, in January, 1832, a fanatical young man named John R. McDowall, fresh from his theological studies at Princeton, had been devoting himself to missionary labors among the outcasts of the city. Horrified by the numbers of abandoned women he found about him, and overcome with romantic pity for their miserable state, he had set himself the task of rescuing them from degradation and of placing before the public its responsibility for their presence in society. In little pamphlets called *Magdalen Facts* he called upon all Christians to face the extent of the evil that surrounded them, and to assist him in organizing a society for the suppression of vice. In order to finance these publications out of his meager income, he took an attic room and lived on a starvation fare of bread and gruel. He distributed his tracts, wrote articles for newspapers, and expounded his ideas whenever he could get an audience.[5] At one of his scantily attended lectures, William Goodell, publisher of the *Genius of Temperance,* was roused to interest, and determined to assist the young reformer. He proposed to enlist the sympathies of women in McDowall's work through the columns of a new periodical to be called the *Female Advocate.*[6] In this he could also urge the temperance cause and recommend various methods of "moral improvement". Every fortnight, for at least two years, this paper had much to say about the "female profligate". It was especially interested in encouraging the organization of "Moral Societies" which should devote themselves to rescuing unfortunate women from idleness, vice, and misery, and to inculcating in their members "purity of thought, word,

[5] *Memoir and Select Remains of John R. M'Dowall, the Martyr of the 7th Commandment in the 19th Century* (N. Y., 1838).

[6] Scattered copies from Oct., 1832, to Dec., 1833, in A. A. Soc.

and deed". Through such societies, the editor explained, virtuous wives and daughters could make their influence felt and free society from defilement.

In order that the virtuous might first free themselves from all bondage, the *Advocate* begged its readers "to break the chains which vice assisted by fashion had rivetted on thousands of the fair daughters of America", and to think seriously on the subject of "female dress and ornament". Dress, the editor believed, constituted "the leading temptation of both sexes and engulphed thousands, year after year, in the sinks of pollution which abound in all our great cities".[7] Nor could intemperance in eating be countenanced by those who hoped to make the world a fairer place. "Female Retrenchment Societies" were suggested, which should dispense with "tea, coffee, rich cake, pastry, preserves, snuff, and tobacco, as well as spirits, wines, and cordials".[8] Indiscriminate reading, too, was a snare to be avoided. One earnest correspondent to the paper felt that few writers had done more serious injury to the country than Sir Walter Scott. "I have never", he wrote, "met anyone who has been benefited by Scott, but I have seen many on whose moral and religious principles his writings have had a pernicious effect. . . . His profane oaths must shock every person of correct taste and religious feeling. . . . He has thrown around intemperance a charm that is not at all favorable to temperance societies, for he generally represents ardent spirits as sharpening the wits and increasing social happiness. Since his novels present religion in a false light, they will surely promote infidelity and vice."[9] With the second year of its existence, the *Female Advocate* turned its attention more specifically to the temperance movement, presenting poems and stories "by talented female correspondents", dealing with the degradation caused by drink, and giving detailed accounts of the formation of new temperance societies. The campaign for moral reform it was able to surrender to a new publication, for McDowall, having come into the possession of $80, began a periodical of his own in January, 1833.

McDowall's Journal[10] provided for its founder the opportunity he had dreamed of for years. Through this publication he determined to do everything in his power to arouse all "Christian females in the United States" to embattled action in behalf of "moral purity". With their help he hoped to make New York tremble for its sins. The evils

[7] *Female Advocate*, Nov. 2, 1832.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1833.

[10] File in Boston Public Library.

he had discovered as he walked the streets of the city he proposed to set forth in his paper until every sheltered woman realized the dangers threatening young and unguarded females. So detailed were his accounts of lurid scenes and so frank some of his extravagant revelations that he soon brought upon his devoted head the disapproval of the public press. His *Journal* was indicted by a grand jury as a nuisance, and he was forced to turn his activities in other directions. But his efforts to arouse interest had not been fruitless. The Female Moral Reform Society of New York, formed as an auxiliary to the American Seventh Commandment Society, declared its fidelity to his cause, purchased his paper at the end of the year 1834, and continued to issue it as the *Advocate of Moral Reform*.[11]

For the first eighteen months of its existence this publication was edited by several members of the society, assisted by an interested clergyman; but in 1836, Miss Sarah Towne Smith, who became Mrs. Martyn in 1841, was put in charge and guided its policies until 1845, when jealousy and strife rent the ranks of the Moral Reformers and aroused her, with a disaffected minority, to the production of rival journals. In the opening number of this *Advocate,* issued on January 1, 1835, the public was informed that while the new paper would "be full in its exposure of vice", it would at the same time be "sufficiently delicate and chaste in character" to circulate freely among all classes. Since other public prints would not expose "the vice of licentiousness" and aid in "forming such a public sentiment as would banish the vice from the community", it was necessary that some periodical take upon itself the task of "collecting and publishing facts, presenting the careers of licentious men, and stripping vice of its gaudy attire". The *Advocate of Moral Reform* advanced resolutely to this work under the motto: "For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; neither hid that shall not be made known." Encouraging letters assured the editors that they were engaging in a work appropriate to their sex. "When", asked one correspondent, "were the holy feelings of the female heart and the controlling powers of the female mind ever put in requisition to ameliorate the condition of our depraved and erring race without producing some visible and lasting benefit? Go on, Ladies, go on, in the strength of the Lord! The virtuous part of the country will sustain you."[12]

Go on the ladies did, but with several changes of emphasis in the

[11] Partial files in Boston Public Library, in Widener Library, Harvard University, and in the A. A. Soc.

[12] *Advocate of Moral Reform,* Apr., 1835.

contents of the paper. By 1846, when Mrs. Martyn and her friends left the society, articles entitled The Magnitude of Licentiousness, The Guilt of Seduction, Details of Horrible Profligacy had given place to accounts of destitute women and neglected children. Mrs. S. R. I. Bennett, who followed Mrs. Martyn as editor, felt that the publication could achieve its greatest usefulness by sedulously guarding the domestic hearth and making its appeal to the family circle. In accordance with this modified policy the name of the paper was changed, in 1847, and it became the *Advocate of Moral Reform and Family Guardian,* "designed as an Aid to Parents in the discharge of their obligations, a Guardian of the young, a Friend of the Friendless, and an Advocate of Industry, Virtue, and Moral Purity". Year by year, the *Advocate* revealed itself increasingly general in its advocacy of reforms, and by the 1850's it was a completely respectable family magazine "exerting a hallowed influence in the domestic circle". When the unpleasant topic of the Rights of Women arose, the editor published one letter asserting the equality of the sexes and then announced firmly: "No further discussion on this subject will appear in our columns; the conductors of this sheet have their time and thought engrossed more with the duties of women and the rights of neglected children than aught besides."[13] With this irreproachable program the paper prospered, weathered the gales of the 1860's, and under the editorship of Mrs. Helen E. Brown, continued its course into the 'seventies.

Inspired, doubtless, by the efforts of McDowall and his followers, a group of Boston ladies organized a Female Moral Reform Society in their city in 1835, and, not to be outdone by their New York sisters in resisting "the Moloch of impurity", established, in 1838, a fortnightly *Friend of Virtue,*[14] edited by Miss Rebecca Eaton, corresponding secretary for the society. This new periodical spoke out vehemently to the New England ladies. "Dear Sisters", it urged, "we would hold up to your view the violated law of God as contained in the seventh precept of the Decalogue, and ask you what shall be done to save it from universal desecration. We present it to you in behalf of our beloved New England, exalted to heaven in point of privilege, yet by her departure from the purity and simplicity of our pilgrim fathers standing on the verge of a fearful destruction. Dear Sisters, shall this state of things continue?"[15]

[13] *Ibid.,* Feb., 1852.

[14] Scattered files in Widener Library, and in the A. A. Soc.

[15] *Friend of Virtue,* Oct. 15, 1839.

The *Friend of Virtue* was determined that no lack of effort on its part should be the cause of such continuation. Young women were admonished to beware with whom they kept company and not to be deceived by a handsome form and agreeable manners; older women were urged to pray, read their Bibles, and aim at purity of heart; all women were implored to disseminate the principles of the society, to work tirelessly in distributing tracts, and to arouse their friends to the dangers that threatened them. The editor admitted that it was painful to the female mind to contemplate the prevalence of licentiousness, but that only by facing such evil could woman hope to make right standards prevail. She printed, therefore, in the magazine, stories such as Jane Greenleaf, or the Fate of Thousands, setting forth in sad detail the episodes in a downward career; special articles designed to cause "a thrill of horror to strike the soul"; awful disclosures of what happened to helpless females in New York; and indignant editorials pillorying improper public lecturers. The theater, elaborate dress, and novels by profligate authors, all met with resolute opposition in the *Friend of Virtue*. Women were reminded that the most polluted and polluting characters of the town were sure to be seen at the playhouses, and that many deluded females had taken their first steps to destruction because of a desire to appear gayly clad. Fathers and mothers were implored not to allow their sons and daughters "to breathe an atmosphere exhaled by such monsters in human form" [16] as Bulwer Lytton and Eugene Sue. Such other moral pitfalls as oyster cellars, gambling houses, and barrooms were denounced with violence, while fortune telling was shown to be "a device to ruin souls and deluge the land in pollution and crime".[17]

As time went on, this periodical, like the *Advocate of Moral Reform*, became less excited in its utterances, grew more restrained in tone, and gradually subsided, in 1863, into the *Friend of Virtue and Parent's Assistant*, a sedate religious publication. Like its predecessor, also, it held no commerce with the suffrage movement. Women might properly establish societies to reform humanity, might edit periodicals and write voluminously for them, but to demand a vote or the right to hold public office was conduct unbecoming in an American lady.

These two long-lived journals of "moral reform" had as their companions during the 'forties and 'fifties more than a score of ephemeral periodicals, each of which sought to bring about in some way, through

[16] *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1844.
[17] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1848.

the agency of woman, a better condition of affairs on earth. Some of these publications agitated for temperance, some for the antislavery cause; others demanded for women the right to work and to vote as the equals of man; and still others, greatly daring, defied all the forces of conservatism in their efforts to bring about a millennium through dress reform. The women who presided over these papers were, very often, unusual and outstanding personalities. They were not welcomed into the field of journalism as were their more restrained sisters who edited the accepted "ladies' magazines". Instead, alarums and excursions accompanied their entrance, and only a crusading spirit and an unflinching belief in the rightness of their cause sustained them in their spirited conflicts. They did battle constantly with all the forces of prejudice, and however amusing or absurd some of their "Causes" may now appear, they must be credited with doing much to freshen the stuffy air of feminine America.

In the antislavery agitation women editors took an active and significant part. Lydia Maria Child conducted the weekly *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in New York from 1841 to 1849; Maria Weston Chapman ardently supported William Lloyd Garrison's work in Boston during the 1840's, and acted as editor of the *Non-Resistant* and the *Liberty Bell;* Margaret Shands Bailey assisted with the *National Era* in Washington, D. C., from 1847 until 1859, and after her husband's death carried on the paper for a short time; Julia Ward Howe acted as joint editor with her husband, in 1851, of the Boston *Commonwealth,* a publication dedicated to free thought and the liberty of the slave. These women, however, did not at any time address their periodicals specifically to the members of their own sex. Indeed, they expressed disapproval of distinct publications of any kind for women, believing that whatever was suited to educated man was equally suited to educated woman.[18] But this policy was not followed by the advocates of other movements, and the growing conviction that women by uniting could exercise a power peculiarly feminine led, after 1840, to a succession of reform magazines edited by women and directed particularly to women.

The *Olive Plant and Ladies' Temperance Advocate,*[19] begun in New York in July, 1841, firmly declared itself "a periodical to be conducted and sustained entirely by Ladies". It hoped to "enlighten the understanding, elevate the affections, enliven the imagination, and improve

[18] This policy was definitely stated in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Sept. 2, 1841.

[19] Scattered copies for 1841 and 1842 in the A. A. Soc.

the heart", and found approval of its course in the sisterly welcome which it received from the *Advocate of Moral Reform*. "It is a matter of rejoicing", declared the editor of the *Advocate*, "that the agency of woman in the renovation of the world is becoming more effective and her influence more and more widely felt. Too long has woman slept over the wants and miseries of a world in ruins. . . . We rejoice that she is waking up at last and that some of the ablest female pens are pledged to the support of this new periodical." [20]

The able female pens worked busily, and, guided by Miss Mary Augusta Coffin, the editor of the paper, produced every fortnight for at least two years, a variety of appeals to the ladies of America. Alcohol was attacked as the most deadly "curse of the domestic sphere, the murderer of countless thousands of wives and mothers". Because of it the groans of women were louder "than the earthquake's terrific sound, and her days were filled with mourning and darkness". [21] To combat this foe to their life and happiness, the *Olive Plant* urged ladies everywhere to form temperance societies, and to send in for publication complete accounts of these organizations and of the reformations achieved through their agency. A large part of the paper was given over to these reports, but space was also found for little stories of lives made unhappy by drink, and for poems with a wide variety of metrical form. One issue[22] contained not only a sonnet "To the Daughter of a Deceased Inebriate", but an impassioned monologue in rhymed couplets wherein a victim, "Lost, ruined, wretched, seethed in misery", related the story of her downfall to a visiting Reformer. This confession spared no warnings:

> . . . The red wine graced our board,
> And noble guests drank with my honor'd lord;
> I with them sipped the sparkling beverage then
> Nor dreamed of evil; Ah, no prophet's ken
> Foresaw the future; but at length I found
> My husband lov'd the revel's charmed sound.
> I prayed, entreated, but 'twas all in vain,
> He fell a willing prey to fashion's chain.

Soon wealth, honor, manhood, all departed, and the wife, maddened by neglect and abuse, "sheathed the murderous steel" in the bosom of her erstwhile honored lord. Then, desperate beyond all thinking, she "Grasped the bowl and drained it", and became "Lost to all shame,

[20] *Advocate of Moral Reform*, July 15, 1841.
[21] *Olive Plant and Ladies' Temperance Advocate*, July 1, 1841.
[22] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1842.

without a hope or friend". But her wretched state was soon changed. Her visitor brought the good news that total abstinence societies existed. She joined one, pledged herself to reform, and was soon leading a new life in a peaceful home.

Somewhat more ambitious than the *Olive Plant* in the scope of its reforming zeal was the *American Woman,* published weekly in Philadelphia by Mrs. Probosco, and "edited by Ladies".[23] It began a brief career in 1845 with an indictment of the times, declaring the age to be "a selfish and sensual" one, and asserting its intention of speaking out "truly and soberly" on matters of "literature, politics, religion, social and civil life". The works of man seemed to the editors of this paper to merit serious rebuke. So vigorous was their denunciation of masculine failings that the polite T. S. Arthur, editor of *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine,* was moved to mingle compliment and protest in his comments upon the opening numbers of the periodical: "Certain it is that the *American Woman* is edited with no mean ability, and it is also certain that it cuts right and left at the lords of creation who rule in the literary world. . . . But let it not waste too much time in exposing the deficiencies on our side, but strive to develop its own truth, power, and beauty. Woman's influence upon society is strongest when it comes in gentle and effective incentives to virtuous actions."[24]

To this unctuous comment the good ladies replied somewhat pointedly, considering the ubiquity of Mr. Arthur's literary productions, that testing American literature by what they deemed sound canons of criticism they found it a "baby literature" and had so denominated it. "Our men we found writing like little misses", they added, "and we told them so. Their writings are chaffy, of the passions which destroy and enfeeble, and not of the understanding which illumines, preserves, and ennobles."[25] Whatever success the *American Woman* achieved in illuminating and ennobling the life of the period remains unrecorded, for no copies of this high-minded venture seem to have survived the year 1845.

In May of the following year a New York monthly magazine called the *Ladies' Wreath,*[26] under the editorship of Mrs. Sarah Towne Martyn, who had severed her connection with the *Advocate of Moral Reform,* started out valiantly to regenerate the world, but lost its courage

[23] The references to this periodical are quoted from *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine,* issues of 1845.

[24] *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine,* Jan., 1845.

[25] *Ibid.,* Mar., 1845.

[26] File in Boston Public Library.

after a few numbers and subsided into a "ladies' magazine" of the accepted type. It based its appeal from the first on the "powerful moral influence of woman", which it hoped to direct toward bettering the condition of oppressed seamstresses and securing more adequate compensation for factory operatives. Sensible articles suggested that more women might well interest themselves in the wages paid to their toiling sisters, and might think seriously about the fact that for sewing twelve hours a day many workers were receiving only three dollars a week. But these humanitarian efforts did not, apparently, bring subscribers, and the *Wreath* soon changed its policy, directing its energies to the more profitable task of placing woman "in her true position as the enlightened, substantially educated, everyday companion of man,—rational yet refined".

A worthy follower of the earlier *Olive Plant* was the *American Amaranth and Lady's and Gentleman's Temperance Magazine,* issued from Philadelphia in 1847.[27] While it did not declare itself exclusively feminine, it hoped for the assistance of all ladies in its efforts "to stem the overwhelming tide of drunkenness in America by endeavoring to win the misguided, perishing inebriate back to virtue and peace by the mild influence of gentleness and love". In addition to this object it proposed to give due consideration to "female society as a refiner of man's nature", to the duty of mothers, and the miserable wages of working girls, to physical education, and especially to such glaring evils as gaming and the theater. The stage, one editorial pointed out, had become a place of disgusting exhibitions, where French and Italian dancers indecently exposed themselves, to the shame of the age that tolerated such conduct. The homage paid to the dancing of Fanny Elssler, "a woman wholly unfit to be the associate of the humblest female in our western forests", was pronounced an insult to the morality of the country, and any advocacy of such a performance "a vile outrage upon every principle of virtue, decency, or morality". Better, far better, the article concluded, be uncultivated and innocent than refined and corrupt.[28]

Much more entertaining than any of these earlier journals of reform was a racy paper issued in Pittsburgh from 1848 to 1857 by a woman who cared not a whit what proprieties she offended with her lively pen, and rather enjoyed shocking the timorous. Jane Swisshelm, of the Pittsburgh *Saturday Visiter,*[29] had no intention of restraining her utterances

[27] Vol. I., no. 1, Jan., 1847, in the A. A. Soc.

[28] *American Amaranth and Lady's and Gentleman's Temperance Magazine,* Jan., 1847.

[29] Scattered issues in the A. A. Soc.

or of following any conventional pattern. She meant to be a journalist among journalists, and to have a good time in saying just what she thought on all manner of subjects. No one ever accused her, or the *Visiter* (the spelling of which she justified by Dr. Johnson), of being dull. Saucy, daring, pert, lacking in respect for respectability the paper might be, but amusing and good tempered always, with a fine disregard for correct manners and mincing utterances. For over six years before she began publishing a periodical of her own, Mrs. Swisshelm had contributed to the Pittsburgh *Spirit of Liberty,* an antislavery weekly, and to the *Commercial Journal.* When the Liberty party was left without a paper of its own in 1848, she announced her intention of editing a political weekly in which candidates with the "right" views on slavery would find determined support—and the *Saturday Visiter* appeared.

According to her own account, as soon as the first copies of the paper were distributed to a waiting crowd that blocked the street before her office door, "The American eagle swooned and fell off his perch" at the idea of a political sheet edited by a woman, while masculine editors from Maine to Georgia shouted in horror, "She is a man, all but the pantaloons". The shocked comments of her contemporaries she met with such a deluge of sarcasm that editors soon whispered to each other, "Beware of Sister Jane". What she thought, she said; and what she said, left no one in doubt as to her meaning.[30]

On the antislavery question she had much to say. An individualist always, she did not join any of the abolition societies, preferring to go her own way alone, but no follower of Garrison could have expressed himself more decidedly. Her usual procedure was to state her opinions in somewhat violent terms, and when taxed with severity to give a more extended exhibition of what she really could do. On one occasion being rebuked for overemphasis, and challenged with taking advantage in argument of the fact that she was a woman, she retorted: "We do not as a rule say one half that we feel we should say if we were a man. If we were, and any fellow who had acted hound and aided in capturing a fugitive should offer us any of the courtesies of life proper between man and man, we would spit on him. . . . Any one who for a twenty dollar fee would aid in tearing a man from his family and consign him to the condition of a brute beast ought to be held without the range of human sympathy. We would not let such a biped sleep in our barn or take a drink at our pump."[31] Her readers probably understood after

[30] Jane G. Swisshelm, *Half a Century* (Chicago, 1880).

[31] *Saturday Visiter,* Mar. 29, 1851.

this comment that Jane Swisshelm did not particularly care for slave-catchers.

Although the temperance movement had her approval, she refused to take any part in the conventions held by women to advance this cause. The "mild influence of gentleness and love" advocated by the *American Amaranth* to win "the misguided, perishing inebriate" back to virtue made no appeal to her. She had nothing but contempt for the sentimental manifestations of the "Washingtonian Movement", and for what she regarded as its flabby twaddle about "elevating the poor drunkard". Commenting upon the consideration which the public was asked to show toward reformed reprobates, she wrote: "We would have them brought to their senses by direct appeals to the only feelings they have—cowardice and selfishness. Thrash them like spaniels. Every time they get drunk, horse whip them. If they are too low to be reformed shut them up in a prison and put them to work in a cell. . . . No use talking about stings of conscience. Conscience might as well try to sting the head of a bass drum as a heart preserved in alcohol."[32] Not content with this fling, she proceeded to express even more heretical doctrine: It was merely cowardice, weakness, or stupidity that made a wife stay with a drunken husband. A woman could not perform her duty to herself or society and continue in such a marriage. Let women once get the ballot box and they would soon vote themselves freedom from such bondage, and "leave the hero-drunkards to go to upper regions and wed with angels".

This redoubtable editor's zeal for the causes she espoused found expression often in audacious attacks on public characters. She was no respecter of persons and slashed right and left when her feelings were aroused. She ridiculed judges until their dignity was sorely tried; she poured scorn upon clergymen for their half-hearted stand on national questions; and she scandalized the soft-spoken by diatribes against prominent political figures. One of her notable onslaughts was directed against Daniel Webster, and when her philippic was sharply criticized, she defended it, as was her custom, with an even more vigorous restatement.

> In the spring [of 1851] we willfully and maliciously, and of malice prepense did go to Washington City to see what we could see. There was also some smelling to be done. A moral stench rose up. We published, therefore, an article on the crimes of Daniel Webster. We told distant worshippers that the God-like statesman, who was leading them to sell the birthright of liberty, was a great nasty beast, with whom drunkenness was the

[32] *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1850.

rule, sobriety the exception. . . . We told them that to us he appeared both dangerous and loathsome.[33]

For woman suffrage the *Saturday Visiter* stood firm, although Mrs. Swisshelm could never bring herself to fraternize comfortably with the leaders of the movement. Yet she was heart and soul for the vote, and prompt to puncture with her wit any grandiloquent opposition to the demands of the suffrage conventions. When the elegant New York *Mirror*, irritated beyond endurance at the sight of women in council assembled, burst forth in exasperation against one of the meetings, it delivered its dignity into her irreverent hands. She wrote:

> The New York *Mirror* rails at the Worcester convention and exclaims in phrensy, 'Women's offices are those of wife, mother, daughter, sister, friend,—Good God, can they not be content with these?' Men's offices are those of husband, father, son, brother, friend. Goodness Gracious, can they not be content with these? . . . Why will they tangle their whiskers, soil their hands, and tarnish their boots dabbling and wading in politics, law, and learning? Why should they covet the legal power to protect their lives and property, or want remuneration for their labor? Are they not husbands, fathers, sons, brothers? The old colonists were a pretty set of numbskulls to object to the principle of taxation without representation. They were husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, but still they must needs aspire to be legislators also,—to be their own law-makers, over and above and into the bargain to the other great rights they already enjoyed.[34]

There seemed little left to say to an opponent after the graceless Jane had answered him in her best style.

Besides standing for antislavery, temperance, and woman suffrage, the *Saturday Visiter* had some tart comments to offer on the subject of woman's health, her dress, her reading, and her education. The "fashion-plate mongers" were accused of instigating more murders than ever Nero committed, and of procuring for the venders of quack medicines "more employment than the cholera itself".[35] Mrs. Swisshelm had only scorn for the women who were such "consummate fools as to wish to resemble or imitate" these fashions, but concluded that since "no person of sense or taste can be injured by them, it is little matter how many ninnies they kill off".[36] She did not adopt the bloomer costume of the dress reformers, however, disliking "their curtailed drapery" as much as she did other extremes of fashion. She stood in this matter, as she did

[33] *Ibid.*, July 5, 1851.
[34] *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1850.
[35] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1850.
[36] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1850.

in most others, for her own ideas and views. She advocated the "water-cure treatment" popular in the 1840's, and gave such explicit advice on daily bathing in her "letters to Country Girls" as to shock the susceptibilities of the more 'Refined'.

Until 1857 Mrs. Swisshelm continued to demonstrate her conviction that a reform periodical edited by a woman could make itself felt in the country. In that year she gave up the *Visiter,* left Pittsburgh and an unsatisfactory husband behind her, and removed to St. Paul, Minnesota. She promptly became active in this new region, established a St. Cloud *Visiter* and continued until 1863 to discuss fearlessly the questions of the day.[37]

In the year following the initial appearance of the Pittsburgh *Visiter* another magazine, edited by a reformer worthy to stand beside Jane Swisshelm, began to attract attention. On January 1, 1849, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, whose name was later to be identified with a particular type of dress, issued in Seneca Falls, New York, the first number of a temperance magazine called the *Lily.*[38] Mrs. Bloomer had taught in a district school at seventeen, and at twenty-one had married the youthful editor of the *Seneca County Courier.* Encouraged by him, she contributed articles on social and moral questions to the local newspapers, and gained thereby a modest reputation for fluency with her pen. In 1840 and 1841 when the Washingtonian temperance movement swept the country, she enthusiastically supported the cause by writing for the *Water-Bucket* and the *Temperance Star.* She seemed, therefore, to the admiring ladies of Seneca Falls the very person to preside over a local journal of reform which they proposed to establish. She was not at first much interested in the cause of suffrage, and for a year the *Lily* was almost exclusively a temperance magazine; but as time went on she became convinced that it was part of her duty to campaign for the political rights of women. During her third year of editorship she discarded the fashionable dress so elaborately depicted in the bright pages of *Godey's* and *Peterson's,* and adopted the new reform costume with its short skirt and Turkish trousers. She did not introduce this fashion, but joined with other followers of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, who seems first to have sponsored it, in extolling its comforts. Immediately the *Lily* gained new notoriety. The New York *Tribune* commented upon her action and other papers followed its lead. Some approved; others were horrified. The name of the little auburn haired, blue eyed

[37] *Woman's Journal,* Dec. 19, 1874.

[38] Scattered copies in Boston Public Library.

editor became an adjective and a common noun. Newspapers called the reform dress the "bloomer costume" and a wearer of it "a bloomer". The subscription list of the *Lily* increased, and Mrs. Bloomer had a larger audience to address on the subject of reform.

There was nothing of the swashbuckling style of Jane Swisshelm about Amelia Bloomer. She uttered her subversive doctrines in mild tones, and went her way regardless of clamor and tumult. As her interest in the suffrage movement grew, she lectured for it, wearing her "bloomer costume", attended its conventions, and printed page after page of the proceedings of these gatherings. She begged her sex to depend more upon themselves and less upon man than they were accustomed to do, to arouse themselves from their passivity, and to contend for the opening of colleges and schools of science to women. In 1853 she and her husband bought an interest in the *Western Home Visitor,* a family paper, in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and removed from Seneca Falls to that village. She continued to issue the *Lily* in this new region and to act also as assistant editor of the *Home Visitor,* announcing herself in each paper, "the uncompromising opponent of oppression in every form". She insisted particularly upon woman's right to engage in any kind of useful labor, with adequate pay for her work. Acting on her conviction she employed only women as typesetters on the *Lily,* and when the men on the *Home Visitor* struck because of the presence of these workers in the joint office of the two papers, she filled their places also with women.

Mrs. Bloomer's connection with the *Lily* ceased in 1854. In that year she removed with her husband to Council Bluffs, Iowa, and feeling unable to carry on her editorial work there, disposed of her paper to Mrs. Mary Birdsall, of Richmond, Indiana. The new editor continued the periodical until 1859 as "a semi-monthly quarto devoted to Temperance and the Elevation of Woman".

Most of the short-lived contemporary publications that surrounded the *Saturday Visiter* and the *Lily* gained little more than a local hearing for their words of admonition. The *Ladies' Garland and Cabinet of the Daughters of Temperance* appeared weekly in New York for a time in 1845; the *True Kindred,* edited by Rebecca Sanford, spoke the language of reform at Akron, Ohio, in 1848; a *Domestic Guardian* offered help to the ladies of Rochester, New York, in 1849; the *Ohio Cultivator,* published at Columbus, Ohio, by Mr. and Mrs. Bateham, maintained, during the early 'fifties, a vigorous "Ladies' Department" in which Mrs. Bateham urged the importance of an enlarged sphere of labor for

women. In 1852 *Freedom's Pioneer and Woman's Advocate,* edited by Anna W. Spenser, in Providence, Rhode Island, proclaimed itself the upholder of "Liberty, Truth, Temperance, and Equality". During the same year a *Neal Dow Gazette, or Advocate of the Ladies' Ninth Ward Temperance Alliance,* published by "a Committee of Ladies" in New York, exerted its influence in behalf of the Maine Law. In 1854 two other New York periodicals—a *Temperance Gem,* of Bath, Steuben County, edited by Jenny and Caroline Rumsey, and a *Woman's Temperance Paper,* of New York City, edited by Mary C. Vaughan, begged the women of the state to exert their saving powers upon a perdition-bound commonwealth. Later in the decade (1857–1858) a *Western Olive Branch,* devoting itself every fortnight to "Temperance, Education, and Fireside Literature", was published by Miss Carrie D. Filkins, first in Bloomington, Indiana, later in Cincinnati—its mission "to point out social vices, to instruct, elevate, and bless the family circles to whom it may become a welcome visitor".[39]

Besides these ephemeral publications that seem to survive only in name, and are, doubtless, merely representatives of others which have completely disappeared, a number of somewhat more significant undertakings added to the ferment of the 'fifties. Of this group the *Genius of Liberty,*[40] edited in Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1851 to 1853, by Elizabeth Aldrich, was, apparently, the most thoroughgoing in its efforts to bring about a millennium. The editor in supplying a paper "devoted to the interests of American women" did not limit herself to a paltry two or three causes, but took all reform for her province. She felt a burning desire "to arouse her twelve million country women to put forth all their energies for their self-culture, their souls' adornment and beautifulness".

The modest program which Mrs. Aldrich presented included the establishment in every state in the union of free district schools, high schools, and teachers' colleges; the encouragement of women to exercise more freely, and to discard "every species of dress which is anti-physiological", the combatting of "unjust public opinion which fences in woman's aspirations and actions within the narrow space of domestic routine", the doing away with "all idea of female inferiority" and the inequality of the sexes. The *Genius of Liberty* maintained that all its ideals could be realized if only the female sex would lay aside "envy,

[39] The periodicals referred to in this paragraph are mentioned or quoted in contemporary publications. Most of them have completely disappeared.

[40] Scattered copies in the Boston Public Library.

gossip, selfishness, dissonance, fault-finding, and hate, and become one in friendship, cooperation, sympathy, liberality, and individual culture". With its third volume the paper seems to have disappeared into oblivion, where assuredly its noble struggle entitled it to a well won repose.

The advancement of woman found an equally determined but less exuberant champion in the *Una*[41] of Providence, Rhode Island, a monthly periodical established and directed by Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis, a cultivated woman who had for some years been active in her opposition to slavery. She believed that the suffrage cause should have a dignified, well conducted paper, peculiarly its own, in which the true history of the movement might be presented. To accomplish this end she labored faithfully, writing detailed accounts of the woman's rights conventions, grave editorials, and informative articles, setting forth the achievements of woman. Through these efforts she hoped to "elevate the female mind" and to convince women that they had too long been satisfied with Ladies' Books, Ladies' Magazines, and Miscellanies. At the end of two years she confessed that her labors had not met with success, that women had not supported the *Una,* and that she feared the paper must give over its attempts to bring about united action among women. Help came, however, and, assisted by Caroline Dall, Mrs. Davis continued the magazine for another year, issuing it from Boston instead of Providence. Without violence or oratory, she insisted upon better educational opportunities for women, wider fields for their labor, more liberal payment for their work, and, as a necessary prelude to all these innovations—the vote. The correct pages of the *Una* with their calm reasonableness supply to-day a valuable record of the suffrage movement from 1852 to 1856, but they furnished little excitement in the struggle itself, and probably added few converts to the cause.

In January, 1855, a more bustling, if less elegant, periodical called the *Ladies' Advocate*[42] made its appearance in Philadelphia, with the announcement that it proposed to speak plainly about woman's right to work and about the wages she was entitled to receive for her labor. It boasted the distinction of being owned by a joint stock company of women, edited by a woman, and printed entirely by women, all of whom were to coöperate "in pushing the business to a successful point where it will remunerate all concerned".[43] The *Una* welcomed this newcomer and wished it Godspeed, yet deplored the fact that it did not

[41] File in Boston Public Library.

[42] Repeatedly mentioned and quoted in the *Una.*

[43] "Prospectus", given in *Woman's Rights Almanac,* 1858.

"take a position" on the suffrage issue. The editor of the *Advocate,* Miss Anna McDowell, made swift answer to this lament: "Take no position! . . . Is it no position to demand our right to life and the means wherewith to gain an honorable subsistence? Know, transcendental sisters, we differ with you. Bless your grumbling souls, our blackened hands give more evidence of a position that will tell on the public mind than all the windy resolutions ever passed by all the mutual admiration societies in the land."[44]

From 1855 until at least 1858 the *Ladies' Advocate* pursued its course, never identifying itself with any specific cause. It preferred to present the wrongs of humanity in general, and to plead for their redress, steadily maintaining that a paper, "owned, edited, published, and printed by women" was engaging in a genuine "Woman's Movement".

Although reform periodicals prepared for and by women concerned themselves chiefly from 1830 to 1860 with improving the public morals or enlarging the sphere of women, they were not unmindful in passing of such incidental interests as health and dress. It remained, however, for special journals, particularly those advocating the water cure and dress reform, to bestow upon these subjects a passionate and wholehearted devotion. The *Health Journal and Advocate of Physiological Reform*[45] was one of the earliest of these publications. It was established in 1840 and edited during that year by Mrs. Mary Gove Nichols, who, as a loyal follower of Sylvester Graham, pointed out the evils of overeating, of indulgence in meat, tea, coffee, and other unwholesome food. Becoming, a few years later, a convert to the water cure method of treating disease, Mrs. Nichols began, after 1845, to present her gospel through the columns of the *Water-Cure Journal and Herald of Reform,* "Devoted to Physiology, Hydropathy, and the Laws of Life".[46] In her determination "to rescue woman from her degraded bondage to quackery", she presented with the unquenchable ardor of an enthusiast the benefits of the water cure, of bathing more frequently, eating more discriminatingly, and dressing more sensibly. She herself adopted the bloomer costume in 1851, and testified that every week that she wore it gave her new health and courage. The *Laws of Life and Woman's Health Journal,* edited by Miss Harriet N. Austin, in Dansville, New York, carried on the campaign for more hygienic living, and especially for more hygienic dressing, from 1857 until at least a decade after the Civil War.

[44] *Una,* Mar., 1855.

[45] Scattered copies in the A. A. Soc.

[46] File in the A. A. Soc.

Dress reform found its most vehement exponent in the *Sibyl*,[47] a fortnightly publication edited from 1856 to 1864 in Middletown, New York, by Mrs. Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck, an energetic "bloomer" and water cure physician. It was the design of this paper to supply "a review of the Tastes, Errors, and Fashions of Society", and to prove that nothing exerted such a false and narrowing influence over woman as her servility to fashion. Mrs. Hasbrouck had been one of the first to adopt the reform costume in 1849. As an independent and high-spirited girl, she had decided to put it on because of the physical freedom it gave her. When she was refused admission to a seminary simply because she wore the dress, it became to her a symbol of woman's right to her own individuality. Neither scorn nor abuse could shake her faith in its fundamental importance. She felt that she had a principle to defend and resolved to stand unfalteringly for woman's freedom. She lectured and wrote for newspapers, practiced as a water cure physician, and at all times and in all places declared that until women dressed more sensibly they could not hope to achieve the other reforms for which they were agitating.

In the columns of the *Sibyl* she exerted her most determined efforts to reclaim women from their serfdom to fashion. She pointed out to them that they were competent to engage in many pursuits closed to them at the moment if they would but discard a dress adapted only to "womanly helplessness", and attire themselves fitly for the battle of life. A rather charming cut at the top of her magazine pictured the editor at work in the printing office, wearing an undeniably sensible and becoming costume of pantaloons and workman's smock. She repeatedly assured her readers that she was not a stickler for any particular style of garment, provided only that it gave freedom to the body and indicated that the wearer had some individuality of character. She herself varied the color and material of her dress to suit different occasions, wearing on her wedding day, according to an account in her paper, "a skirt of white India book, with pants of white satin; a basque of brocade silk trimmed with deep lace".[48]

It was subserviency to tyrant fashion, the *Sibyl* reiterated in almost every issue, that blighted the intelligence of women and rendered them incapable of taking their proper place in society as the equals of man. The "sentiment and practice of Dress Reform" was, therefore, a first step toward a practical realization of woman's rights. The movement

[47] Partial file in the Boston Public Library.

[48] *Sibyl*, Aug. 15, 1856.

was to be a veritable American Revolution—its object to overthrow the rule of London and Paris fashion plates and raise up in their stead a genuine American spirit of independence, under whose enlightened guidance women would dress sensibly and advance naturally to all the rights and privileges of a democracy. Speeches and reports given at dress reform conventions, letters from "prized friends of Progress", and a constant flow of vigorous editorials incited the readers of the *Sibyl* to this all important revolt. Verse, too, added its inspiration:

> To clothe our souls with virtuous might,
> And treat our bodies fair—
> To know and dare to do the right,
> We'll make our daily care.
>
> And persecution's lowering storm
> May gather thick around,
> But still we'll cry 'Reform, Reform',
> And hold our vantage ground.[49]

But although many rallied to the insurrection and undoubtedly endured persecution and abuse for a time, they did not put down the tyrant. Instead, most of the revolutionists capitulated completely. Only the doughty editor remained true to the cause. Until the day of her death, at the age of eighty-two, she continued to wear the reform costume, probably the only one of its early advocates to do so.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the rallying cry "Reform, Reform", sounded so continuously by feminine voices for three decades, was lost in the tumult of actual conflict. Reform periodicals and female reformers turned their attention to the all absorbing business of the moment. The laws, the habits, the clothes, the meat, and drink of America were entrusted to the keeping of a problematic future. In the years that followed the war many of the old causes were reasserted, but with a difference. Periodicals became business enterprises. Reformers organized for efficiency. The romantic days of individual effort were over and a picturesque chapter in the history of American magazines was completed.

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

Wellesley College.

[49] *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1859.

LINCOLN'S ELECTION AN IMMEDIATE MENACE TO SLAVERY IN THE STATES?[1]

ANY attempt to answer the question, "Was there a reasonable probability that the election of Lincoln meant an attack upon the institution of Slavery within the States?" must be made with a clear realization that probabilities are after all mere conjectures. Any adequate discussion of the probabilities in this case—a perfectly proper proceeding, of course—must be founded upon an analysis, first, of the Republican party and its leadership; and, second, of the then existing situation in the United States.

The Republican party came into existence with only one professed unifying principle, namely, opposition to the further extension of slavery. But, as Fite says, it was "built up . . . out of the conscious desire of a multitude of people to destroy slavery",[2] and within a relatively short time it became additionally cemented by a deep, sincere, and rapidly growing hatred of slavery and, in the case of most of its members, of the South as well. This is not often said to-day, but no one can read thoughtfully and dispassionately the newspapers, the public and private utterances, and the letters of the day without a realization that this was the case. Chase voiced the feeling when he said that he wanted the slave emancipated, not for love of the negro, but because he hated the master.[3] Rufus Choate said the Republican party knew one-half of America only to hate and dread it.[4] In spite of all its professions and official declarations, the party, unconsciously perhaps, by 1860 had become abolitionized.

Fite thus sums up the case:

> The record of daily events disclosed Republican policy. Northern newspapers embodied it, and not the party platforms; the spontaneous words and acts of individual men in their actual contact with slavery, and not the deceptive utterances of the politicians. An enumeration of the leading

[1] This paper was read at a discussion held at the Chattanooga meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in April, 1930. It followed a paper by Professor Arthur C. Cole, which in a revised form appeared in this journal in July, 1931.

[2] E. D. Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*, p. 190.

[3] W. C. Fowler, *The Sectional Controversy*, p. 205.

[4] A. J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II. 412.

factors involved in the popular discussion readily suggests itself; the John Brown raid and the stupendous wave of enthusiastic approval called forth in countless ways by that event; Hinton Rowan Helper's *Impending Crisis* and the ensuing struggle over the speakership in the House of Representatives; the bitter debates of the Senate and the House; the unsparing presentation of the evils of slavery in the Republican press; the responsive sympathy of Sunday Schools and Churches for blacks in distress; the moblike resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law and the rescue of fugitive slaves; the enactment of the personal liberty laws in the various state legislatures; the repugnance of courts to convict and punish the stealers and rescuers of the fugitives; the refusal of the Northern governors to give up offenders . . .; the popular terrorism practiced on Southerners traveling quietly in the North with their slaves. . . . These things all had but one meaning, and that was that the Northern people were mightily opposed to slavery and stood ready to strike it mortal blows. This was the inexorable logic of daily events, and it was the genuine Republican doctrine. None could deny it.[5]

Republicans, of course, were not responsible for the John Brown raid, though Senator Henry Wilson said immediately afterward that it was "the consequence of the teachings of Republicanism",[6] but they aided powerfully in performing the miracle which transformed a blood-stained and fanatic criminal into a national hero and martyr; few of them there were that failed to agree with Greeley that on the day of Brown's execution, "the noblest manhood in America swings off the gallows of a felon",[7] and, in accord with Emerson, to regard that gallows as "glorious like the cross". They took active part in memorial meetings, would not attend union meetings,[8] and uttered no whole-hearted condemnation of the crime. There is no indication that they felt any. Thousands proclaimed loudly their hearty approval of it.

Likewise, as individuals, they gave *The Impending Crisis* eager and apparently unanimous approval, and, as a party, official endorsement. "Every sentence of the book", said Giddings, "finds a response in the hearts of all true Republicans."[9] Wade said there was nothing objectionable in it, and Seward commended it as did Greeley, Bryant, and Kelley, to mention only a few of the more prominent admirers. The Republican membership of the House, almost without exception, joined in a formal endorsement of its contents, and the party distributed it by the hundred thousand as a campaign document full of sound party doctrine. To those who have read it, this is fairly con-

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 190–191.

[6] L. T. Lowrey, *Northern Opinion of Approaching Secession*, p. 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[9] Fowler, p. 236.

vincing proof that the party was in reality one of abolition. There will, doubtless, be dissent in the minds of some from Caleb Cushing's definition of abolitionists as "monomaniacs of ferocious philanthropy, teachers and preachers of assassination and treason", but the evidence all points to the correctness of his statement that the Republicans "profess fealty to the Union, and . . . operate politically within the forms of the Constitution, but . . . have allowed their minds to be so pre-occupied with the treasonable teachings and preachings of the Abolitionists, as to have entered into a path of systematic assault on the chartered rights of the Southern States".[10]

Thus far I have dealt with Republican opinion. Attention must be directed also to declaration of party intent. The Dred Scott case furnishes an illustration.

The case was brought by Abolitionists, and the two antislavery members of the Supreme Court forced the unwilling majority to include in the opinion the question of the Missouri Compromise.[11] The Republican and Abolitionist leaders then seized upon the decision as an example of aggression on the part of the "slave power". They aroused the public, at first indifferent to it, to a frenzy of excitement, without any foundation accused the majority of the Court of a conspiracy with Pierce, Buchanan, and Douglas, and never retracted the slander.[12] And, finally, denouncing the decision as no law, they declared that they would not regard it, or that, by a deliberate packing of the Court, they would secure its reversal. Lincoln, in spite of his demand at Galena in 1856 that the question of slavery extension be submitted to the Supreme Court as the proper tribunal for a decision of the matter, and his pledge to abide by the result, declared on July 19, 1858, that he would not regard it as binding, and demanded its reversal.[13] Seward stated his views more baldly. "We shall reorganize the Court, and thus reform its political sentiments and practices, and bring them into harmony with the Constitution and with the laws of nature."[14] Evarts also looked to a reorganization of the Court, one that would base it upon population.[15]

[10] C. M. Fuess, *Caleb Cushing*, II. 241.

[11] Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, pp. 281–300.

[12] See Seward's speech in the Senate, June 26, 1857, and Lincoln's at Springfield, July 17, 1858. See also Beveridge, II. 41, 495.

[13] "If I were in Congress and a vote should come up on the question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should." See also his Peoria speech and those following it.

[14] G. E. Baker, ed., *The Works of William H. Seward*, IV. 595.

[15] Albany *Journal*, Oct. 20, 1860, quoted in Washington *Constitution*, Oct. 27, 1860.

In the analysis of the Republican attitude toward slavery, much light is thrown by a consideration of Republican action with respect to constitutional guarantees. Personal Liberty laws, the majority of them passed by Republican legislatures, designed to nullify the Fugitive Slave Law, were to be found in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Kansas. Laws operating in part similarly were found in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. Only in New Jersey, California, and Oregon were no obstacles placed in the way of executing the law.[16] All of the states mentioned prohibited state officers and citizens from aiding in the execution of the law, some denied the use of any public buildings, a still larger number provided for legal defense of the fugitives, and three proclaimed the freedom of fugitive slaves entering their borders.

Among Republican leaders Lincoln appears as relatively conservative, but a close study of his writings indicates that he, too, grew fast to radicalism, that he was touched—"all broke out"—with abolition, to quote a contemporary opinion of him in 1856.[17] He had started out with the idea of restoring the Missouri Compromise, but quickly opposed such a suggestion;[18] he had advocated allowing the Supreme Court to settle the territorial question, and then fiercely attacked the Court for attempting to do so; intimately familiar with the scope and character of the abolition crusade, entirely aware of the falsity of most of the propaganda employed, and fully conscious of its effect in the South, he not only never denounced it, or in any way opposed it, but was himself increasingly influenced in opinion by it.[19]

In 1856 he said: "We shall be in a majority after a while, and then the revolution which we shall accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. . . . Slavery is a violation of eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition." Slavery he pronounced "a detestable crime and ruinous to the nation". Nor was his attitude toward slaveowners reassuring. "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. If this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further

[16] Fowler, *op. cit.;* M. G. McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves,* p. 67; Edward McPherson, *History of the Rebellion,* pp. 16, 44–47; J. J. Lalor, *Cyclopædia of Political Science,* III. 162.

[17] Beveridge, II. 384.

[18] Bloomington Speech.

[19] Beveridge, II. 19–20.

to impress the same rule in Illinois." And the close of the speech was a threat of war not thinly veiled.[20]

From the time the Dred Scott decision was handed down until 1860, he never lost opportunity to insinuate and develop and strengthen in the public mind the idea hinted at in the last sentence quoted above, namely, that unless the South were checked, it would force slavery upon an unwilling North. It was effective propaganda. In fact, so successful was he in arousing fear and anger against this supposed culminating aggression of the "slave oligarchy", that it is not improbable that he made more Abolitionists than the Abolitionists themselves.

The "House Divided" speech in 1858, while it advocated no specific aggression upon slavery, was none the less a declaration of war, and at Chicago he developed the idea, declaring his desire that slavery should be put in the course of ultimate extinction.[21] Here, too, appears the statement of another doctrine equally inimical to Southern interest. "Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race, and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us . . . unite as one people . . . until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal." At intervals he specifically denied any such view, but again and again restated it, until the New York *Times* was able to say at the close of the campaign of 1860 that he asserted for the negroes "a perfect equality of civil and personal rights under the Constitution".[22]

There were other assertions of Lincoln which indicate his essential radicalism. "Slavery", he declared at Alton, "is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between the two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world." He straddled on the Fugitive Slave Law, admitting that the South was entitled to it, but thought that its terms should be free from some of the objections of the North.[23] But he declined to acquaint himself with the Personal Liberty laws of the Northern states, and in 1861

[20] Bloomington Speech, May 29, 1856.

[21] July 10, 1858.

[22] Nov. 8, 1860.

[23] He wrote to W. D. Kelley on Dec. 11, 1860: "You know I think the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced—to put it in its mildest form, ought not to be resisted."

had never read one of them.[24] Nor was he interested in their repeal. "If any of them are in conflict with the fugitive slave clause, or any other part of the Constitution, I certainly shall be glad of their repeal, but I could hardly be justified as a citizen of Illinois, or as President of the United States, to recommend the repeal of a statute of Vermont, or South Carolina." This tenderness for the rights of a state, it may be noted, was never apparent when Southern rights were involved. Further, he denied that any right of property in a slave was affirmed in the Constitution, and declared that the idea that there could be property in man was excluded therefrom.[25]

Nor can one find any assurance of peace in his statement: "There is a judgment and a conscience in the North against slavery, which must find an outlet either through the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, or in the multiplication of John Brown raids."[26] He refrained from committing himself on the question of prohibiting the interstate slave trade, but admitted that Congress had undisputed power in the matter.[27]

Thus, while he professed belief in the right of a state to regulate its domestic institutions, he incessantly strove to arouse in the North the same hatred of slavery which he himself felt—a hatred, as he declared, as great as that of any Abolitionist. And throughout his speeches may be seen and felt the presence of a nationalism that relegated the states to the relative position of counties. Seward might well say in 1860: "Abraham Lincoln confesses his obligation to the higher law . . . and avows himself, for weal or woe, life or death, a soldier on the side of freedom in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery."[28] Well might radical Republicans in 1860 proclaim him an Abolitionist. Well might Thurlow Weed declare that when Lincoln was inaugurated "an affirmative policy" would also be inaugurated.[29]

Seward, as early as 1850, had proclaimed his "higher law" doctrine.[30] His opponents perhaps misstated his position at first, but by

[24] Letter to John A. Gilmer, Dec. 15, 1860.

[25] Cooper Union Speech.

[26] Quoted by Fulton Anderson, of Mississippi, before the Virginia Convention, Feb. 18, 1861.

[27] Freeport Speech.

[28] Speech at Boston.

[29] T. W. Barnes, *Thurlow Weed*, II. 310.

[30] "But there is a law higher than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain."

1860 he had clearly come to their construction of it as had also his party. The doctrine was one which, as Badger pointed out, rendered it "impossible to count upon the execution of any law. . . . These principles", Badger continued, "destroy the foundations of all law and justice. They give us a fanatical and wild notion, that every man in a civilized society has a right, as a citizen, to make his own judgment a rule of conduct paramount to, and over-ruling, the law of his country."[31]

This "sentimental and mystical justification of anarchy", Seward continued to develop, steadily growing more radical in every way, even to the point of abolitionism. He gave to Sumner's "Crime against Kansas" hearty commendation and approval, as he later did to the "Barbarism of Slavery" in 1860. In 1858, falling in line with Lincoln, he declared of the sectional quarrel: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice-fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye-fields and wheat-fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men."[32] During the campaign of 1860 he went further still. In Ohio he asserted that slavery "can and must be abolished, and you and I can and must do it",[33] and at Boston he declared the end of slavery to be at hand. "I desire only to say, that we are *in the last stage of the conflict,* before the great triumphant inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States."[34]

The point of view of other Republican leaders as to what Republican victory would mean may be gathered from the following expressions of belief. Joshua R. Giddings, speaking in 1854, said: "When the contest shall come; when the thunder shall roll, and the lightning flash; when the slaves shall rise in the South . . . then, sir, I do not say

[31] *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 387–388.

[32] Rochester Speech of Oct. 25, 1858, quoted in Frederic Bancroft, *Life of William H. Seward*, I. 459.

[33] Fowler, p. 236.

[34] George Lunt, *Origin of the Late War*, p. 163. See also his speech at Madison, which contained a most radical "higher law" view of the Constitution. Quoted in Washington *Constitution*, Sept. 19, 1860.

'we shall laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh,' but I do say . . . the lovers of our race will stand forth, and exert the legitimate powers of this Government for freedom. We shall then have constitutional power to act for the good of our country, and do justice to the slave. Then will we strike off the shackles from the limbs of the slaves. . . . And let me tell you . . . that that time hastens."[35]

Henry Wilson, during the campaign of 1860, promised: "We shall arrest the extension of slavery and rescue the Government from the grasp of the slave power. We shall blot out slavery from the national capital. We shall surround the slave states with a cordon of free states. We shall then appeal to the hearts and consciences of men and in a few years we shall give liberty to the millions in bondage."[36]

Chase proclaimed as the motto of the party, "Freedom Throughout This Country's Wide Domain",[37] and Anson Burlingame declared: "The times demand and we must have an anti-slavery constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God." Sumner, Hale, Chandler, Greeley, Andrew, and a host of other leaders were equally radical, scoffing at constitutional obligations, and denying that the Constitution could guarantee property in man. It could be truly said of the party that *"Its own will was its only law".*[38] Douglas summed it up when he said: "The great principle that underlies the organization . . . is violent, irreconcilable, eternal warfare upon the institution of American slavery, with the view of its ultimate extinction throughout the land."[39]

The campaign of 1860 was based upon slavery almost exclusively. Cushing was correct when in his Boston speech he declared that the real issue was the continued existence of slave labor in the states. He added with characteristic hostility: "The Republican Party has been conceived, born, and nurtured into strength in order, if possible, to force or seduce the Federal Government into abolitionism. . . . And I reassert confidently, if Mr. Lincoln is elected, the Republicans will have to burst up at once, or to attack the domestic rights of the states."[40]

[35] *Cong. Globe,* 33 Cong., 1 sess., p. 648.

[36] Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist,* IV. 161–162.

[37] Speech at Pontiac, September, 1860.

[38] A. T. Bledsoe, *Is Davis a Traitor,* p. 253.

[39] *Cong. Globe,* 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 553.

[40] Fuess, II. 264. He added that if the South did not resist it would prove recreant to the blood of Washington, Henry, Carroll, and Rutledge, unworthy of the name of Americans.

Sumner described the issue thus: "On one side slavery, just, divine, permanent; on the other, unjust, barbarous, and to be abolished."[41] Lincoln had little to say, but it must be remembered that little of leadership was expected of him by his party. Chase and Seward, as has already been seen, struck the note of abolition, as did most of the lesser stars of the party, while the minor performers grew daily, if not in grace, at least in abolitionism. John Brown began to come definitely into his own. But nothing of this appears in the platform, "piously worded", as Fite phrases it, to conceal the thought of the party. And in the chorus of campaign oratory, the *motif*, while apparently drowned by the volume of sound, was none the less pulse-stirring to its auditors.

Had not the South anticipated hostile action by secession, would aggression against slavery have followed? There was every indication of it. The program of excluding slavery from the territories was dead—as Thurlow Weed said, the issue was obsolete—but with it died the ostensible reason for the party's organization and existence. The Fugitive Slave Law, even if it could not be repealed, was also dead. It had never been fully alive, but Chase pronounced its final obituary at the Peace Conference, declaring that the North thought it immoral. "The people of the free states, however, who believe that slave-holding is wrong, cannot and will not aid in the reclamation, and the stipulation becomes therefore a dead letter."[42] What was left to hold the party together; what issue save abolition could save the party? For a party must have a unifying principle, apart from "the cohesive power of public plunder", and it can not survive if it stands still.

And so, as Cushing plainly saw, the Republican leaders, bent on retaining the place and power so lately gained, aside from any question of inclination, would have been compelled to fire the Northern heart by aggression on slavery. Such a course, besides, was expected of them; nothing less would have satisfied a large element of the party, already converted by the Lincoln-Seward propaganda.

The New York *Times* expressed current feeling, when, immediately after the election, it warned the South to beware of extensive slave uprisings. The group of radical Republicans in Congress who "gloried in their unwillingness to sacrifice abolition for Union", who agreed with Chandler, of Michigan, that "without a little blood-letting" the Union would not be "worth a rush",[43] looked to aggres-

[41] E. L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, III. 604.

[42] L. E. Chittenden, *Debates in the Peace Conference Convention*, p. 430.

[43] Fowler, p. 231.

sion and speedy abolition. And behind them lay "a single, vast section—'flushed by triumph, cheered onward by the voices of pulpit, tribune, and press' ",[44] to further achievement.

Northern men as well as Southern saw the threat. Fillmore and Choate, as well as Pierce and Cushing, saw nothing for the South but submission to aggression, or separation.[45]

Edward Channing passes this brief judgment on the question: "If the Southern social system were to live, it must live under its own government."[46]

Woodrow Wilson says the same thing in other words:

> But, though they did not mean to lay the axe to the root of the tree, the partisans of Mr. Lincoln did mean to gird it about and let it die where it stood. . . . They meant by law and force to keep slavery from getting any growth or outlet whatever. They meant also to nullify, if they could not repeal, the laws whose adoption the constitution demanded for the apprehension and return of runaway slaves, and put the whole system of slavery, so far as they might within the formal limits of the federal law, beyond the recognition or countenance of federal statute. Their creed and their actions alike were compounded of hostility towards the South, and the challenge of their success was direct and unmistakable.[47]

And James Madison, many years before, out of his political wisdom, stated it even better, perhaps. "When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest, both the public good and the rights of other citizens."[48]

But, it may be asked, what could they do in the face of an opposition majority in Congress? Much that they could do has already been indicated. The following quotation from a New England newspaper in 1860, indicates more:

> They would add none but the enemies of slavery to office. They would withdraw all that protection of slavery which the South now derives from the federal government. They would insist that the United States mail should be used in disregard of the local laws of the States. . . . They would stand as a wall of fire against the admission of any more slave States. . . . They would change the Supreme Court. They would bring the powers of the federal government to bear upon slavery in the States, at least so far as to greatly increase the dangers and disadvantages which

[44] Rufus Choate, quoted in Beveridge, II. 362.

[45] *Ibid.*, II. 362, 411; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, X. 365; Fuess, II. 666.

[46] *History of the United States*, VI. 254.

[47] *History of the American People*, IV. 190.

[48] *Federalist*, no. X.

now surround that institution. They would, in short, pursue such a course as would almost instantly unite the South against the General Government, and make a separation of the States the only remedy for civil war.[49]

Much that was prophesied would have been unconstitutional, but not more so than the Personal Liberty laws. And, aside from them, in the light of the history of the decade which followed, who will ascribe to the Republican party any such respect, or veneration, or tenderness for the Constitution as would have turned them from their triumphal march to abolition?

The Southern people for forty years had fought a losing fight in defense of their peculiar economic and social system, and for three-fourths of that time they had endured, albeit with little pretension to patience, the flood of slander, the foul abuse, and finally the hostile aggressions of the Abolitionists. Being human, they had met none of this with a wise philosophy, and all too often had fed fuel of violent speech, rash action, and mistaken policy, to the flame of anti-Southern hostility. They did not come to the campaign of 1860 with other than the most bitterly hostile feeling for the Republican party. By election the bulk of them were ready to accept De Bow's definition of "Yankees" as "that species of the human race who foster in their hearts lying, hypocrisy, deceit, and treason. . . ".[50]

Davis stated the national situation mildly when he said that he believed that a "sectional hostility has been substituted for the fraternity in which the Government was founded".[51] Few were so moderate.[52]

So, in the clamor of Republican abuse of them as thieves, robbers, man-stealers, enemies to God and the Republic, the Southern people lost sight of such moderate elements as were in the North quite as completely as those moderate elements were submerged and powerless in the radical mass about them. At last they accepted the doctrine

[49] Providence *Post*, Oct. 24, 1860.

[50] *De Bow's Review*, XXIII. (1857) 209.

[51] *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 29.

[52] An example of more violent speech follows: "Predatory bands marched into peaceful communities to excite insurrection—apply the midnight torch—rob and plunder—to destroy the means of subsistence—to poison the wells—to alarm our sleep, . . . and when the desperadoes were arrested and punished they were elevated to the honors of martyrdom. All the restraints of religion were cast aside and the crucifixion of the Savior of mankind blasphemed by impiously comparing it with the execution of a cut-throat and a thief. . . . Among a people not dead to all sense of virtue and decency, such a party could not prevail." Samuel Hall, of Georgia, to the North Carolina legislature of 1860–1861.

of an irrepressible conflict, and turned to that sovereignty which alone was to them a law higher than the Constitution, and so made our problem historically forever unanswerable.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Deodands in Colonial Virginia and Maryland

Perhaps the most interesting of American colonial revenues, though the most neglected by students of colonial finance, are the prerogative revenues of the crown. Scattered through the records of the councils, the courts, and reports to the auditor-general on colonial revenues, but incorporated into every proprietary patent, are brief references to a variety of incomes that are classified by lawyers of the age under this indefinite title.[1] What were the crown's prerogative revenues? These were its ancient personal incomes or perquisites originally inherent in the crown. They were of two classes, first, unclaimed goods such as wreck, flotsam, jetsam, lagan, derelict, treasure trove, royal fishes, strays, and waifs, and, second, forfeitures, which included, principally, the goods of felons, outlaws, suicides, and deodands. In the list of forfeitures there is none more interesting than deodands. Deodands were anything held responsible for the death of a human being, whether animate or inanimate.[2] The practice was common to many ancient peoples. It first appears in England in the Laws of Alfred, later was incorporated into the common law system, and in time introduced into the American colonies.[3] In England, on report of a violent death, the coroner's inquest was summoned, and were a personal chattel found guilty it was declared deodand.[4] Its value was then determined and the object forfeited to the crown or its grantee to be devoted to pious or charitable purposes. Deodands inherently belonged to the crown but in our period were granted largely to corporate towns and lords of manors.[5] Those that were retained were given into the charge of the king's chief almoner, a high churchman, who was commissioned to supervise the collection of

[1] Dalton, *Officium Vicecomitum* (first ed., 1623), cap. 7; Blackstone, bk. II., pp. 408–410.

[2] Deodands rested upon the principle of the sanctity of human life but no attempt was made to place the blame where it properly belonged in those many cases where ale was really guilty and not the horse or boat.

[3] R. B. Morris. *Studies in the History of American Law*, p. 227.

[4] Literally, a gift to God.

[5] *Calendar of Treasury Books*, III. 927; IV. 86; Molloy, *De Jure Maritimo*, I. 316–318.

deodands and the goods of suicides and their distribution in alms.[6]

What is the history of this most ancient Old World practice in the colonies where the unique conditions of life forced adaptation, and in certain instances complete abandonment of laws, institutions, and practices transplanted by the English settlers? In Virginia and Maryland we find recorded all the prerogative revenues cited above as occurring and collected in England, but, with the exception of wreck,[7] the record is infrequent and brief. Complete lists of the prerogative revenues in the colonies are to be found in the proprietary patents. The patent of Lord Thomas Culpeper to the Northern Neck of Virginia, for example, granted the proprietor in addition to lands, woods, marshes, lakes, creeks, ferries, etc., "Whales, Sturgeons, and other Roial Fishes, as all others whatsoever Wrecks of Sea, Flotsam, Jetson, and Lagan, as all sorts of Deers, Wild Beasts, and Fowl of what nature or kindsoever and all manner of Deodands, Goods of Felons, and Fugitives, Treasure Trove, Waifes, Strayes, Fines, Forfeitures, Estates, advowsons, Royalties and Hereditaments whatsoever with all mines of Gold and Silver, Lead Tinn Iron, and Copper and all quarries of Stone and Coal within the Limitts and Precincts aforesaid".[8] The charter of Lord Baltimore specifically mentioned only royal fishes but included the other casualties in a blanket grant to the proprietor of all the rights, prerogatives, royalties, etc., ever held and enjoyed by the bishop of Durham.

Deodands occurred, it seems, in all the colonies.[9] The commonest of deodands in Virginia and Maryland were horses and boats, and of the two, horses were more frequently punished by forfeiture. The colonial procedure in respect to deodands is well illustrated by the

[6] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* 1675–1676, p. 358; *ibid.,* 1703–1704, p. 457; Rymer's *Fœdera,* XVI. 505, 636; XVIII. 80.

[7] The crown granted its right to wreck along the shores of Virginia and Maryland, and all the colonies, as well as along the coasts of the British Isles, to adventurers, merchants, and councilors. Their eagerness to secure patent to this casualty is indicated by the calendars which are sprinkled over with petitions for wrecks, and many grants. Some of the treasure hunts that followed in southern waters proved exceedingly remunerative. *Cal. St. P., Dom.,* 1690–1691, p. 535; *Cal. Treas. Papers,* I. 398–399; III. 485; *Cal. Treas. Books,* VIII. 1399, 1426, 1467–1468, 1632, 1704–1705; Blathwayt's Journals, *passim.*

[8] Sept. 27, 1688. Copy of Lord Thomas Culpeper grant to "Northern Neck", Va., in the Library of Congress. A similar grant was included in the patent of 1673 to the proprietors, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper, of all the prerogative revenues arising in Virginia. Hening, II. 570–571.

[9] Morris, pp. 225–230.

following examples. In Charles City County, Virginia, in 1664, a coroner's jury of twelve men was summoned and sworn to view the body of George Bollington. The jury found that Bollington had died as the result of a fall from a horse. The justices of the county court thereupon ordered the horse, or its value, forfeited as a deodand to the sheriff, and by him accounted to the governor for the use of the crown.[10] In Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, in 1649, an inquest was held before the sheriff over the body of Nathaniel Kingsland. The jury found, on examination of witness Robert Peirson, that he and Kingsland being out on the water a gust of wind caused their sail to turn, capsizing the boat and drowning Kingsland. The boat was declared deodand; it was appraised by the jury at one hundred pounds of tobacco, and given over into the custody of the sheriff for the use of the crown.[11] The earliest and most interesting deodand of which we have any knowledge in the history of the proprietary colony of Maryland is that of a tree. A coroner's jury, duly summoned to view a corpse, found that John Bryant had been crushed to death by the fall of a tree he was cutting. The jury then put the sheriff into possession of the tree with power to sell its lumber and account for the proceeds of the sale to the governor for the use of the proprietor.[12] The earliest record of a deodand in Virginia is dated March, 1625/26. The jury found John Verone guilty of his own death and forthwith declared the chain with which he hanged himself "doth fall to the kinge for

[10] "Wee underwritten being sumoned and sworn for Jury men to sitt on and veue the Corps of Geo: Bollington and haveing very diligently and circumspectly pformed the same doe finde according to the best of o'r judgem'ts that the sd Bollington was brought to an untimely end of this mortall life by an accidentall fall from a horse the sd Horse dragging him a great distance of ground as wee then pceived by the grasse and rubbidge on the ground to this o'r verdict wee subscribe to o'r hands this 23d of 7 'ber 1664 -

Cornel. Clemance	Tho: Harris	
John Stith	Samuell Calle	Ernestus Carey
Richd P Moseby	thomas King	John Maton
Rich. Parker	Cuthbert Williamson	Cornel Dehull
John Harris	Sam. S. P. Phillips	

Charles City County Records, 1655–1665, p. 519.

[11] Lower Norfolk County Records, 1646–1651, pp. 89[2]–90. See also page 116[2] of this volume for an interesting account of a boat declared deodand.

[12] January, 1637/38. *Archives of Maryland, Provincial Court Proceedings, 1637–1650*, pp. 9–10. "And further the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid say that the said tree moved to the death of the said John Bryant; and therefore find the said tree forfeited to the Lord Proprietor."

A diadon".[13] However, in this instance the jury had delivered a false verdict. It should have declared a *felo de se* instead of a deodand, for under the common law there could be no deodand, properly, in a felonious killing.

The above illustrations emphasize the important functions of the coroner and sheriff in the inquest, and the seizure and sale of deodands. On report of an unnatural death it was the duty of the coroner to inquire at once into the immediate cause, "whether by Hurt or Fall or any other Means", that it might be determined whether a deodand were forfeited.[14] Should a deodand be found by the jury, the animal or thing was then seized by the sheriff as a forfeiture to the crown, or, in a proprietary colony, to the proprietor. The colonial coroner and sheriff were county officials whose principal duties were those of the modern coroner and sheriff, the coroner holding inquests, and the sheriff serving as chief executive official of the courts and conservator of the peace. But we here observe these officials in a distinctly personal capacity, that of agents of the king and the proprietor in the conservation of their prerogative revenues in the colonies. The sheriff and coroner were jointly held responsible for the seizure of casual revenues arising within the county,[15] while the coroner accounted to the auditor at the October General Court for deodands, as for all waifs and strays that had fallen within his district. For their pains coroners were allowed their fees and expenses. Lists of deodands in the county due the crown were supplied to the General Court by the county clerk. In the event of deodands, or other forfeitures, and fines being withheld from the crown it was the duty of the attorney-general to prosecute.[16]

[13] Minutes of the Council and General Court, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII. 10.

[14] The jury was instructed to inquire "whether the Killing was malicious and voluntary; or by Necessity, or Accident, or Chance medley; and if the Offenders are fled; and whether they have been pursued by Hue and Cry, or not; If the Homicide happened by Mischance, or Misfortune, and was Involuntary, whether by the Act of God, or of Man; or by what immediate Cause, whether by Hurt or Fall, or any other Means; that it may appear, whether any Deodand is by Law forfeited, or not". George Webb, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace* (Williamsburg, 1736), pp. 99–100.

[15] For example, Governor Nicholson, in 1700, commanded his coroners and sheriffs throughout Virginia to do their utmost toward the recovery of wreck, waifs, strays, and felons' goods, and to give in their accounts from time to time. The inhabitants were warned against concealing or misappropriating to their own use any of these royal revenues. On the other hand, they were promised allowance for salvage of whatever they took up. *Executive Journals of the Council of Virginia*, II. 86–87.

[16] *Ibid.*, I. 459–460; III. 12, 177.

What disposition was made of deodands in the colonies? As in England deodands were given to charity. In a majority of instances, this meant grants to the needy family of the deceased, as in the case of Lucy Doran who petitioned the council for a boat that had turned over and killed her servant, and subsequently had been declared deodand. One of the coroners of James City County seized the boat for the crown, but the governor and council after hearing her prayer, "Commiserateinge y^e^ Condition of y^e^ poor woman and Conceiveing her in y^t^ Case to be an Object of Charity", released the boat from the coroner's charge and granted it to her.[17] For like reason the council of the colony of Maryland ordered that a boat, which had overturned and drowned Francis Asbury, be given to his widow, with its sails, rigging, and appurtenances, the lord proprietor "haveinge Signifyed his pleasure favourably to relinquish his Claim thereunto".[18]

We find many instances of the council investigating the alleged poverty of kinsfolk and owners who were petitioning for deodands, and petitions for deodands from persons apparently of no relation to the deceased or the deodand. The auditor and attorney-general assisted the council in determining whether the coroner had erred in declaring a deodand, and the auditor in ascertaining the worthiness of the petitioner.[19] Thus we see that the entire procedure in the conservation and disposal of deodands involved coöperation of the governor, council, auditor, sheriff, coroners, county clerk, and the attorney-general.

In at least one instance the slayer was declared deodand even though it had belonged to the deceased. The council of Virginia, in 1707, considered a petition for the grant of a deodand in behalf of the wife and children of Matthew Farrell of Gloucester County. Farrell had been killed by a fall from his own horse. The horse was declared deodand and with the saddle valued at fifty shillings. After inquiry

[17] *Ibid.*, II. 130–131.

[18] *Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Council, 1681–1685/86*, p. 91. English and colonial law considered a *felo de se* in the same light as a deodand. As we have observed, in England the crown's chief almoner was given charge over the goods of suicides as well as deodands, both to be distributed to charitable or pious purposes. In Virginia they were devoted to charity. As it was the common practice to grant deodands to the family of the deceased because of its extreme need so it was customary to bestow the goods of suicides upon their poverty-stricken dependents. Sainsbury Abstracts, IX. 492; *Executive Journals*, III. 33–34; Blathwayt's Journals, II. 452–453. In this connection it is to be observed that in a *felo de se* no forfeiture occurred where the coroner's jury returned that the suicide had been *non compos mentis* at the time of the act.

[19] *Executive Journals*, II. 130–131, 286, 355; III. 153, 155.

into the facts of the case the council granted the horse to the wife and children of the deceased, they being "extream poor".[20] Thus was the theory of retributive justice maintained despite the fact of prior ownership of the horse by the deceased. As slayer of a human being the horse passed beyond the domain of private property, and a petition to the council was necessary to secure its recovery. Farrell's family, like other kinsfolk similarly stricken, was granted the deodand not as compensation for its loss, though two-fold, but because the council was convinced that this particular case was the most deserving of charity. It is clear that in Virginia, at least, the claims of charity alone dictated the disposition of deodands by the council.

In conclusion we are bound to ask ourselves how important were deodands in the life of Virginia and Maryland? We can not be very sure. However, we gain the impression that deodands and the goods of suicides, taken together, may have supplied many urgent needs and formed no inconsequential part of the charity of the day. As for the actual monetary value of deodands in any period there seems no possible means of calculation. The reports on the casual revenues of the colonies that were returned by the auditors to the auditor-general do not list the value of deodands separately, but, with one exception, under the total amount of forfeitures, or of forfeitures and fines.[21] The exception noted is not in the reports on Virginia or Maryland but of Barbados, and is for a surprisingly large sum. Colonel Stede, receiver-general of the casual revenues of that island, reported to the auditor-general that the value of deodands occurring in Barbados, 1683-1687, amounted to £45 10*s*.[22]

Whether Virginia made any progress beyond England in the practice of deodand is very doubtful. The theory of the deodand in the colony as in the mother country, that of retributive justice, was maintained under all circumstances. The application of deodands was the same, and there is nothing to indicate that recovery for damages resulting from death by a wrongful act ever occurred. This Old World survival seems to have continued in Virginia until late in the colonial period quite unaffected by the molding force of environment. Deodands bespeak the monarchical character and conservatism of the colonial government.

The University of Pennsylvania. CYRUS H. KARRAKER.

[20] *Ibid.*, III. 155; see also II. 355.

[21] For Maryland, see Blathwayt's Journals, II. 85, 86, 137.

[22] *Cal. Treas. Books*, VIII. 1620–1621.

The "Communication Revolution"

Despite the danger of oversimplification, such phrases as the Romantic Movement, the Mercantile System, and the Second Hundred Years' War have been of real value in helping the student to visualize and coördinate historical movements and influences. If there were a board of historians empowered to pass upon such labeling, one might propose to them another phrase—the "Communication Revolution".

Since 1837, when Blanqui recognized and christened the Industrial Revolution, the commercial changes around 1500 and the agricultural innovations of the eighteenth century have also been raised to "revolutionary" status. In the interest of clarity it would seem desirable to do the same for the movement which started with canals and turnpikes and still continues with radio and television.

At present, the radical changes in communication are dragged in as part of the Industrial Revolution. The conventional treatment starts with the big textile inventions and then turns to Watt's steam engine. That gives a convenient excuse for sidetracking the story from the purely industrial development to consideration of the steamboat and locomotive. The telegraph and telephone later drift into the picture, clouding the generalizations about the factory system and the rise of industrial capital and labor.

Both the industrial and the communication developments would gain in clarity by the proposed divorce. The concept of the Industrial Revolution would be clearer if it were restricted to industry proper, with its factories, mines, and foundries, its labor problem, and its influence on the rise of the bourgeoisie and proletariat with the political and social consequences.

The "Communication Revolution" was a distinct development with its own separate phenomena and consequences. Both movements, to be sure, were accelerated by the inventions of the "Machine Age", became associated with "Big Business", and were to a certain extent complementary. But the story of the canal, turnpike, steamboat, railroad, telegraph, submarine cable, telephone, automobile, wireless telegraph, airplane, and radio is quite distinct from the record of factories and foundries. The change in communications has knit the world closer together. It has widened the horizons of every community, partly through the rapid dissemination of news and partly through the breaking down of provincialism with new facilities for travel. It has been of vital importance in opening up the wilderness and in linking together the far-flung possessions of the world empires. It has made possible far greater

centralization in commerce and in government and it has also had important consequences in the art of warfare. These manifold results were not primarily industrial, to say the least.

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the fact that the changes in communication were as "revolutionary" as those in the industrial and other fields. Before those changes, the movement of either men or messages ordinarily depended upon the speed with which a horse and rider could travel. It probably took longer to get a message from York to London, for instance, in 1750 than it had taken in Roman days, for the possible improvement in the breeding of horses was more than offset by the very definite deterioration of the roads. The news of Lexington and Concord was transmitted with all possible speed, yet it took four days to reach New York, nearly three weeks to reach Charleston, and almost seven weeks to reach London. When Fort Sumter was fired upon, the news reached Boston that morning but took twelve days to reach England. When the *Maine* was blown up, the London *Times* carried a full account a few hours later. At the outbreak of the World War, even the ships at sea were informed at once. To-day, we have recently "listened in" and heard the actual words of the Japanese commander broadcasting from Mukden.

It was perhaps natural that the English should have subordinated the communication changes to the Industrial Revolution. The canals of Bridgewater and Brindley, the turnpikes of Telford and McAdam, and Stephenson's locomotive were all originally contributory to the new industrial development, and facilitated the bringing of raw materials and the carrying away of the finished product.

In American history, however, the "Communication Revolution" was a thing apart for it had performed wonders while our industries were still legitimate "infants". The turnpikes, canals, steamboats, and railroads were knitting the country together and pushing the frontier westward quite irrespective of the growth of American cotton mills or iron foundries.

In the expansion of Europe into other continents, the new methods of communication have also had a very vital influence. Admirals, diplomats, colonial governors, and supercargoes in distant parts of the world formerly had to be intrusted with wide discretionary powers to meet emergencies. Now, as one of them exclaimed in disgust, they have become little more than "agents at the end of a telegraph wire". Wireless and bombing squadrons have extended the influence of imperial power into deserts, arctic wastes, and wild mountains hitherto

accessible only with the greatest difficulty. Yet one wonders what the story of Dupleix and Clive might have been if the directors of their respective East India companies had been at the other end of cables to Pondicherry and Calcutta.

The varied consequences of the "Communication Revolution" may not be considered so fundamentally important as the results of the changes in industry but they can at least compare favorably with the results of Townshend's turnips, Bakewell's breeding, Tull's "horse-hoeing husbandry", and the inclosures which made up the "Agricultural Revolution".

The proposed label for the movement is not particularly euphonious, but the particular name does not matter. The movement would certainly be more clearly appreciated if treated as an entity rather than as a by-product of the "Factory System" and the "Machine Age".

Princeton University. ROBERT G. ALBION.

DOCUMENTS

The Convention Troops and the Perfidy of Sir William Howe

THE Convention of Saratoga had no sooner been signed than General Burgoyne began boasting of his share in the bargain[1] and the victorious Americans began squirming out of theirs. One point apparent to both sides was that once Burgoyne's army was sent home for the duration of the war (as called for in the Convention), it could relieve garrison troops throughout the empire who, in turn, could join Sir William Howe's army in America.[2] The third article of the Convention permitted an exchange of all or part of Burgoyne's army, but only on condition that a cartel should take place. As is well known, the Convention troops were not sent home. The public faith was not exactly broken by the Continental Congress; it was worn out, by long delays and longer arguments. Burgoyne first gave them the pretext they wanted. Fuming in uncomfortable quarters and chafing to get home in order to clear his honor, he allowed himself, in a letter to Gates, November 14, 1777, to let slip the unfortunate phrase, "the public faith is broke". This was seized upon by the Americans and taken to mean that if in Burgoyne's opinion we had already "broke" the faith, there would be no need for the British to keep it.[3]

Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress and probably the strongest advocate for not carrying out the Convention, thought that Burgoyne's statement had been prompted by more than exasperation. In his notes on the subject he argued thus:

> The British Commanders having frequently declared, there is no faith to be kept with Rebels and having as often acted in conformity, {Sir H. Clinton / Sir Wm. Howe} have directed Burgoyne whenever his Troops shall be embarked [ostensibly for England] to order the Transport Ships to go into New York or Delaware

[1] Burgoyne to Clinton, Oct. 20, 1777, in the Sir Henry Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library.

[2] Washington to Jeremiah Powell, Nov. 5, 1777, Jared Sparks, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, V. 137; Washington to Heath, Nov. 13, 1777, *ibid.*, V. 143. Burgoyne to Col. Phillopson, Oct. 20, 1777, quoted in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI. 319.

[3] E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, vol. III., under Saratoga Convention.

as the Winds may permit. General Burgoyne a little staggered by such an Order and feeling for his own reputation, devised means for vindicating the intended breach on his part whenever his conduct should be called in question and the Letter to Gen. Gates was calculated for the purpose. . . .

That it was not intended to send the Troops across the Atlantic appears clearly from the inadequate quantity of Tonnage of the Transports which were sent to receive them as well as from the scantiness of Provisions and Water laid in, for a Voyage to Europe. . . .[4]

Had Laurens had definite proof against the British, it might have saved the Americans much devious reasoning and kept from this page of our history a faint brown stain. The proof, however, has just been found, in the Sir Henry Clinton Papers at the William L. Clements Library. It is definitely set forth in a letter from Sir William Howe to General Burgoyne.

William L. Clements Library. JANE CLARK.

Secret

Philadelphia 16th Novr. 1777

Dear Sir

In consequence of the 3d. Article of your Convention with General Gates, whereby it is stipulated, that any Part of your Army may be exchanged, I am to beg you will be pleased to give your secret Directions to the commanding Officer of the Navy, convoying the Transports, who is instructed to follow your Orders for the Destination of the Troops, that, when they are embarked, he is to proceed with the British Artillery Men and Infantry to New York, my Design being to exchange the Officers for those of the Rebels in my Possession, and the Soldiers for 2,200 Prisoners of the Enemy, that I sent in last Winter, in full Confidence of receiving an equal Number in Return, which, notwithstanding my repeated Applications, has been pointedly refused under the most frivolous Pretences.[5]

The Foreign Troops will proceed to Plymouth agreeable to my Letter of the 14th. Inst., or to any other Port in England you may direct them to, my Views being only to repair an Injury in which Mr. Washington so obstinately persists.

The commanding Navy Officer, who will not in any Degree be informed of my Intentions here, should by all means be injoined to keep the Destination secret as long as possible, by giving the Masters of Transports the Rendezvous mentioned in my public Letter, and by delivering, when under sail, sealed Orders to those, having British Troops on board, to proceed to New York in case of Seperation; and I could wish some Pretence might be fallen

[4] *Ibid.*, III. 18, dated [Jan. 8, 1778], but written later.

[5] The prisoners sent in by Howe had been in such a debilitated condition that many of them had died before reaching their homes, and Washington had refused to send out healthy British prisoners in their stead. While Howe admitted the justice of this in general, he denied that the argument applied to him in this instance. Washington to Howe, Apr. 9, 1777, Sparks's *Writings*, IV. 380; Howe to Washington, Apr. 21, 1777, *ibid.*, vol. IV., app. no. XIV., p. 557.

upon by you to conceal from the Captain and Troops the Intention of such Orders, even when they are opened.

The enclosed Letter for the Commanding Officer at York is to acquaint him with my Wishes for his Proceeding in the Exchange upon the Arrival of the Troops, and I request you will put it under your Cover to him, that the Officer, to whom you deliver it, may not suspect it came from me. I conceive it is necessary to use every possible Precaution to keep the Enemy ignorant of my Intentions, as on the least Suspicion the Troops wd. be infallably stopt—

With much Concern I do not find myself at Liberty to negotiate the Exchange of Genl. Philips at this Juncture, he will therefore proceed to England with you.

I sincerely hope your Reception at home may remove the Pain and great Anxiety of Mind, under which I am certain you must have labored without Remission for some Months past, and with my best Wishes for your Health, I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir
Your most obedient and most
humble Servant
W Howe [6]

Lieutt. Genl. Burgoyne etc. or Officer
Commanding the British Troops at
Boston, to embark for Europe—

John Howard Payne and the Cherokee Indians

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE was traveling through the South in 1835, seeking material for a book he planned to write describing the interesting features of the country. When he reached the Cherokee nation he visited the chief, John Ross, and requested permission to copy documents relating to the early history of the tribe. It was an unfortunate time for a Northern man of his prominence to visit or notice these Indians who were engaged in a bitter struggle with the white people for possession of their ancestral domain. Ross was then living in a log house in Tennessee to which he had fled with his family when his plantation in Georgia was seized by the authorities of that state. While Mr. Payne was engaged in making the copies desired by him a company of the Georgia guard crossed into Tennessee, came to the home of Chief Ross, burst into his home, seized him and Payne with their manuscripts, and carried them into Georgia where they were confined for more than a week. When Mr. Payne was released he was ordered out of the country. He later wrote a long account of the series of outrages to which he was subjected, and it was published in Southern newspapers.[1]

[6] It is a letter signed, three pages in length. Permission to print it was kindly given by Mr. William L. Clements.

[1] Knoxville *Register*, Dec. 2, 1835; *Georgia Constitutionalist* (Augusta), Dec. 24, 1835; *A History of Rome and Floyd County* (Ga.), by G. M. Batty, jr.

In these surroundings Payne was introduced to the Cherokee Indians and their chief, and from that time he retained a lively interest in their affairs, keeping up a correspondence with Ross for a number of years. After the removal of the Cherokees to the West, they were torn with dissension between those who had resisted removal and the smaller element who favored the plans of the government. Rival delegations spent much time in Washington seeking adjustment of their many problems and controversies. In the capital Payne saw much of Chief Ross who encouraged him to visit his tribe in their new home. Payne desired to collect information with a view to writing a history of the Cherokee tribe and secured a passport from the War Department, permitting him to enter the Cherokee nation for that purpose.[2]

When the Cherokee delegation, headed by Ross, left Washington in 1840 for home, Payne accompanied them. They traveled overland to New Orleans and there boarded a boat bound up the Mississippi River. In Arkansas they were later obliged by low water to abandon the boat for a wagon and horses. They arrived at Chief Ross's home at Park Hill about October 10. The chief had timed his return in order to be present at the national council of his tribe which convened in October at Tahlequah, the Cherokee capital, about five miles from Park Hill. Mr. Payne attended the meetings of the Indians day after day and wrote extended and interesting accounts of what he saw and heard there. His articles were published in Eastern newspapers.[3]

He remained for ten weeks or more as the guest of Chief Ross. During his stay, on the last day of November, he witnessed a prairie fire which he described in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Osburn. The country, he wrote, was "sickly and deaths frequent; two of the most healthy looking persons here when we arrived, are dead lately; one of them a brother of Mr. Ross—his disease, something like cholera. The climate, it is said, creates forms of disease which baffle all the experience gained by physicians elsewhere. I myself have been in very good health although not living in much comfort and exposed to the weather from cracks and crevices innumerable. Regular living and in something like a house, will be a great luxury, if ever I am thus far blest."[4]

A graphic description of the home of his host and its surroundings is contained in a long letter which Payne wrote to John Watterston, of

[2] Payne never wrote his history but he made a considerable collection of manuscript material that is now part of the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

[3] New York *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 22, 27, 1841.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1840, p. 2; Payne to Mrs. Osburn, Nov. 30, 1840, MS. letter, New York Public Library.

Washington, and which is now part of the Watterston collection of manuscripts in the Library of Congress. This is the document printed below. It may be well to add that when further legislation was contemplated, in order to adjust some of the claims of the Indians growing out of their enforced removal and the harsh construction of the treaty, Mr. Payne was specially employed by the Secretary of War on October 30, 1841, at a salary of $1600 annually. His duties were to study the former treaties made with the Cherokee Indians with reference to their rights under the treaty of 1835, and the liability of the United States in the case of the claims of the Indians arising under it. When he made his report the next year he was informed by the Secretary that his work had been so well done that the business could be managed by the regular force of the Indian Bureau; and the War Department did "not feel authorized to continue the extra expense which would compensate a gentleman of your talents and experience in such service. . . . I have requested the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to converse freely with you and make himself acquainted with all the details of the business on which you have been employed."

Muskogee, Oklahoma. GRANT FOREMAN.

Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, West of Arkansas,
Dec. 2, 1840.

My dear Sir:

. . . My historical objects here will be but imperfectly realized. The people are yet unsettled. Every one is engrossed by personal affairs—putting up cabins,—fencing and farming,—and so on. Perhaps, under any circumstances, but few among them would feel the value of that 'second life in others' breath' which atones, in some minds, for the infelicities of the first life in our own. Besides, they are shy of letting their information be recorded. George Guess,[5] the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, came here on a visit to me. I got a brief notice of his life, by the help of an Interpreter; and then he told me there were some ancient memories of the past which I ought, by all means, to gather. I begged him to communicate them and he said he would. The Cherokee who interpreted was a short, thin,

[5] George Guess, whom Mr. Payne has so graphically described, will be recognized as the remarkable Indian better known as Sequoyah; a wholly illiterate man, he did not even speak the English language, yet by years of toil and perseverance and in the face of ridicule and menace he invented an alphabet with which members of his tribe could learn to read after a few days of study; an achievement that soon placed his tribe in the advanced position it has since occupied among the Red men. Two or three years after Payne's visit with Sequoyah, in search of a lost band of his tribe, this venerable philosopher departed for Mexico where he died. To honor her most celebrated citizen the state of Oklahoma provided a statue representing Sequoyah which was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies in the Statuary Hall of the National Capitol.

long visaged, deep voiced personage, covered with what had once been a 'whity-brown' overcoat, with vast bone buttons, of which some remained, while the fragments of the coat draped him on every side in varied fantastic shapes innumerable. He was equally anxious with myself to hear, (for the Cherokees know very little about their own annals);—and Mr. Ross came and remained with us.

We were all in the cockloft of Mr. Ross's story and a half log house, where the light and wind enter through thousands of chinks. Guess sat in one corner of the fireplace and I on the opposite side at a desk; the other two between. Guess had a turban of roses and posies upon a white ground, girding his venerable grey hairs;—a long dark blue robe, bordered around the lower edge and the cuffs, with black;—a blue and white minutely checked calico tunic under it, confined with an Indian beaded belt, which sustained a large wooden handled knife, in a rough leathern sheath;—the tunic open on the breast and its collar apart, with a twisted handkerchief flung around his neck and gathered within the bosom of the tunic. He wore plain buckskin leggings; and one of a deeper chocolate hue than the other. One of his legs are [*sic*] lame and shrunken. His moccasins were unornamented buckskin. He had a long dusky white bag of sumac with him, and a long Indian pipe, and smoked incessantly, replenishing his pipe from his bag. His air was altogether what we picture to ourselves of an old Greek philosopher. He talked and gesticulated very gracefully;—his voice alternately swelling,—and then sinking to a whisper,—and his eye firing up and then its wild flashes subsiding into a gentle and most benignant smile. Before long, poor I seemed entirely forgotten by the rest of the audience. First, one quarter of an hour,—then another,—and then another went over, and no translation came.

You must imagine a scene like the following; and fancy me, all the while, sitting in the cold, far-distant corner, with the pen in my hand, ready to note the in-vain-looked-for interpretation.

A series of sounds something like these, proceed for twenty minutes together from the old man, without stopping to fill the pipe—

Ohsee, tustenuggy, oohsahnahlee, clucky, o-o-o-o-o-o-oghy, (dwelling on the note and dying along the strain)—conesawge, ahquo, narki, uhleehstuly, tooyah tuhtungh, tawlee—

The interpreter (here called a *linkister*) whom he is addressing, exclaiming, as listening Indians always do, at every clause, in a note, something between the tone of human lamentation, the voice of Mr. Thomas Cat by moonlight, and the sound of the french word for the month of August—

Awe, oooh!—

The orator proceeds for another half hour—Kah, traquo, soogu, kah-tunghwatlee, chotah, clung, aquo, no ha hi oah ungh—

In the course of which at every break perpetually *meaws* the listener as before

Awe, oooh!

And the previous course is repeated, interlarded with exclamations from the hearers, turning around on some sudden reminiscence of me, at intervals of an hour or so—of—

"Oh, it is beautiful! Oh, how interesting! How *very* interesting!"

But not a word of explanation; until, at last, after a whole evening of fidgetting thus, I am hurriedly told that is all about the sending of wampum

belts from various tribes;—and so I am left with something like the sensation of one who has travelled a couple of thousand miles, to plow and plant five hundred acres and reap one single ear of corn!—I am assured, however, by way of consolation, that the old man was not interrupted for fear of breaking the thread of his recollections; and now, having got all the story out, it will be easy to lead him over it again and slowly enough to get a record.

On the following morning after one of the aforesaid edifying disclosures, I accordingly asked that its wonders might be repeated before me, deliberately, and *'linkistered'*, for the purpose of enabling me to write them down, but I had no sooner placed myself for the task, when Guess said he had not remembered the whole tradition right, and did not know that I had wished to detain on paper the little he *could* remember; but if he could have his old friend Tobacco Will, and another man now at Red River, with him, they could make out to recall, among them, enough to do the story proper credit; but, unless he could manage thus, he would rather not expose himself to be criticised by the old people, who might say he had not reported the truth.

These sudden fits of reserve are what one has to contend with here incessantly; and thus it is that so much trouble may be taken and so little got by it.

I am not in the right mood, now,—or I could amuse you with a picture of how we live here; but I will tell you all about it when we meet. No door is fastened. Every apartment is open to every one indifferently. There is no lack of dirt any where; but those who are particular can choose the cleanest. Mr. Ross and I occupy as our sleeping room and study the demi-story-floor of the log house, up to which every now and then stalks a silent Indian, stands awhile and stares, and then stalks down again,—no matter how one is situated,—whether in bed or up or idle or at work. At night, if two four-post bedsteads in each of the two main rooms, on the ground floor, are insufficient for the guests, beds are spread in the center, or those who have blankets, spread them; and, the rooms once filled, an open passage between the two is blanketted all over by the remaining visitors, who repose with only a shed canopying them from the wind and weather. Men, women and children, thus lodge indiscriminately; and, as I gather myself in my own bed, I hear them laughing and talking themselves to sleep, and, in the morning, at daybreak, the base and treble tongues tune up again, and some one seems, by common consent, to be the joker for the rest, and a grave voice cackles on awhile, then all the listeners laugh, and the grave voice resumes and is again succeeded by the laugh.—

When I descend, I find the fire place overcrowded with men in all sorts of queer, wild, garbs; and blanket coats of every hue; and women, squatted turk-wise, at the other end of the room, all but their black haired heads covered with their blanket, which has just been a bed, and each of them facing a different way and silent and, it would seem, entirely unobservant of one another or anything else; unless some two or three of them happen to have a baby each to look after.—At meals, as many as the table can accomodate, sit down indiscriminately;—and outside of the door,—which stands always wide open,—two or three dogs are intently eying the table from the threshold, and Indians, in their blankets, as earnestly watching it in silence, and waiting their turn to be invited in. Thus, set after set is summoned, till all are satisfied. The housekeeper never knows here whether she has to lodge and feed twenty five or fifty or double the number; but the guests seldom

fall far below the five and twenty. This uncertainty often creates a puzzle for supplies; and apologies are often made for scanty fare or an omitted meal, sometimes, for weeks together, the dinner and supper are blended; and one day's hours for either afford no guide for another's;—They come as it happens.—

Among the difficulties we encounter, if the want of historical light is perplexing, that of physical light is even yet more so.· The people rise extremely late, and yet they go to bed early, because candles are rare and there are no lamps, nor oil. If ever you come to this region, oh! bring a box of candles!—Now and then a lean and long and disconsolate jaundice-complexioned taper makes its appearance, most pensively and languishingly declining its head on one side, like a sick and sanctimonious ci-devant country belle; and as welcome to widowered eyes in the wilderness as even such a substitute for the fair sex, in the lack of all other. One melancholy evening as I sat alone in the dark and a negro Caliban louted up with an arm full of wood, I asked him most modestly and timidly and beseechingly if he could not find a candle?—'Nothing here to make candles on, massa; but there's some *rich* pine among this wood'. I amused myself by trying to poke what he called the *'rich pine'*, into a blaze with the help of two sticks, which I taught to enact the two sides of tongs; but the 'rich pine' does not always keep the black-boy's promise, for it turns out to be some well soaked scrubby oak, nearer at hand, and split up to counterfeit the more desirable faggots which cannot be had without greater trouble. I have seen this pretended 'rich pine' weep for my dark hours, till the fire has all gone out under it!—But I spoke of Caliban.—He is the blackest of all the slaves and wears more coats than the grave digger in Hamlet, if coat any one of these labyrinths of rags may still be called; for each has been worn out so many times, that I do not know which is the greater wonder—the art by which they are got upon the back or that by which they are retained there.—Soft—Let me speak with due respect of Caliban, for it is by him I know how the weeks pass. He is not 'my man Friday' but my man Saturday. On each returning Saturday night he comes for my boots to clean, and thus I know that the day following, of which I discover no other evidence, is Sunday. 'He is my kalender' as Octavian says.

To make all these petty miseries still fuller of misery, the weather is most capricious,—occasionally intensely cold—for the prairie where we are is open on one side to the Arctic Ocean,—and, you know, the ice crowned Rocky Mountains are but six hundred miles from us. As I unclose my eyes some nights, I discover the bright Heavens over head through the yawning shingles of the roof; and when the cold blasts drive the snow in which has lingered from the last storm, and the cabin reels and rocks in the howling wind, I involuntarily implore the North Star to have the goodness to keep his breezes to himself! In drops a shower of dry leaves occasionally and as they fall upon my bed I can fancy myself one of the babes in the wood covered up by the pretty little robin redbreasts; and then get to wishing the Misses Watterston were here, to contrive something better than 'By your leaves'! or, 'I had as *lief* be any where else', in the way of pun upon these rural intruders.—Only think! A gentleman called here one day and asked if I was not disposed to go into the Creek country for the pleasure of having a 'camp out' before I returned to the States. 'Camp out.—No, I thank you —I have had plenty of *camping in'*.—Another proposed a *ride in the country*.—The country!—In a region where the law does not suffer any farm to

come within a quarter of a mile of another and where you may sometimes travel a day without encountering a habitation.

I suppose there will be an execution, here, soon, to amuse us; for, just as I got to this part of my letter, there was a bustle which drew me away. I saw a great number of armed and wild looking horsemen trotting towards the gate and they halted. One called out 'Can we have water?' Mr. Ross cried, 'Yes—but wont you alight?' After a moment's pause, a second faced his horse up, and answered 'Yes.' The first speaker alighted and others of the party got down but the second speaker, a tall and reckless looking man, with red leggings, and shabby green blanket coat, flung in before the first. I was not aware, at the time, that this was a guard who had been sent out to take one of the most turbulent of the false Treaty signers under a charge of murder. He had sworn that he would not be taken; but he and a friend of his, who had attempted to supply him with arms when the guard came on him, were in custody. The friend was the one who asked for water; the murderer the one who came up and offered to alight and entered first. He stalked in and was received like any other visitor. As he presented himself, Mr. Ross did not recognize him; but I heard him say low to some one—'Is it Archilla Smith?' The prisoner observed to Mr. Ross in Cherokee, 'How are you? It is some time, now, since we met. How long?'—'Some years, I think'.—'You and I are beginning to get into years. We were both of us thought good looking once' remarked Smith. 'The fairest flowers must wither as their season passes' rejoined the chief. 'You are fatter than when I saw you last' observed the prisoner. ' am fatter than I was a short time ago but not so fat as I have been. Have *you* been well?' Said Mr. Ross. 'Yes', replied Smith, 'but the men have some purpose in view, for which probably they fancy there is cause'. A bustle and some careless chit-chat ensued, when suddenly, the prisoner started up, and observed, 'I thought I would look in and see you. We must be on our way now and I may journey on and on and see you no more.'—

The whole band then remounted and posted to the resting place for the night. It is probable, from all I can gather, that the man will have been tried and hanged long ere you receive this. An Indian boy, who was at the house where he had been staying some time, told us that he had sent him twice for drink and each time, as he took it, part was spilled on the floor. The second time, he looked at it, pondered awhile in silence, and exclaimed, as if convinced of an evil omen—'I shall be taken'—and desired the boy to remove his weapons, which he handed him, lest he should do mischief, as he had threatened. He is, indeed, noted as a desperado, and is scarred from head to foot with evidences of having been one.

This scene had scarcely passed, when horses were heard. The door burst open, and about twenty men sprang in. Smith started. It was thought he meant to execute his threats. Rifles and pistols were levelled at him. He cried for quarter. With some difficulty the Sheriff kept back his men from firing. Rescue has been talked of and possibly retribution may be tried against the chief. Last night we heard a drunken, or possibly *pretendedly* drunken, Indian, singing round the house, and then raising the single war-whoop, which is uttered on the killing of one foe.

I have gabbled you, by this time, into a mood for blessing fortune that I do not write oftener. I will release you, now, with my best remembrance to Mrs. Watterston and the young ladies, and Doctor and Mrs. and Miss Hamilton. I think by the time a line from you could reach New Orleans I shall

be there on my way towards the North. A letter, to me care of Colonel Maunsel White will come to me without doubt. If you think of any thing I can do for you in that region, pray, without reserve, command

Yours most truly

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Edwin R. A. Seligman, Editor-in-Chief, Alvin Johnson, Associate Editor. Volume V., Danton-Exile; volume VI., Expatriation-Gosplan. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxiii, 690; xxv, 713. $7.50 each.)

The fifth and sixth volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* include the span of the alphabet from Danton to the Gosplan of the Soviet Republic. They are, like their predecessors, important and useful pieces of apparatus. Due to alphabetic accidents they contain an unusually large number of long articles (or groups of articles) such as those dealing with the family, the farm, and economics. There is also a wealth of lesser articles with subjects ranging from fundamentalism to Gestalt, from fanaticism to the problem of Egypt, and from gangs to funerals. The investigator and teacher of history will find this series well adapted to his needs both in subjects covered and in method of treatment. The style is compressed. Wherever appropriate the reader finds the material in an article arranged according to a standard pattern. At the beginning of practically every long article is an historical introduction.

In view of some of the recent antics in the encyclopedia field it is a pleasure and a comfort to be assured that the editors are interested solely in scholarship. The article on Mary Baker Eddy will probably please everyone except the faithful. The scholarship, of course, varies although, in general, it is of a high order. It was an unkind fate which betrayed the author of the article on the problem of the Far East, almost alone among the contributors, into abandoning scholarship for prophecy. He would doubtless now be glad of an opportunity to modify his general conclusion that "the far eastern problem . . . is less a matter of imperialistic politics than of broad social trends". Such statements as the following also are out of line with the series: "The curve of the population in China as elsewhere will flatten. Machine production and preventive medicine will leave the Yellow Peril a figment of journalistic imagination."

In contrast with the discussion of the Far Eastern problem the handling of Japanese feudalism in the group under that heading is a fine piece of work. Well done also are the sections on European and Saracen and Ottoman feudalism. One suspects of special pleading, however, the contributor of the paragraphs on Chinese feudalism. The full and rounded treatment

of such a subject as feudalism is gratifying. Unfortunately the two articles under Frontier present an unhappy contrast. They do little more than restate the well-known Turner thesis of the significance of the frontier in American history. No attempt has been made to deal with those other frontiers of European civilization in Australia, in Hispanic America, or in South Africa. The opportunity for a fresh and worthwhile discussion of the characteristics of European frontier society has been neglected.

Notable articles of special interest to the historian include those on economic history, the history of economic thought, Fascism, French Revolution, the group including the farm bloc and farm relief, the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Trade Commission, the Declaration of Independence, and foreign investments.

Yale University. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.

The Divinity of the Roman Emperor. By LILY ROSS TAYLOR, Professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College. [Philological Monographs, published by the American Philological Association, edited by Joseph William Hewitt, no. 1.] (Middletown, Connecticut: American Philological Association. 1931. Pp. xv, 296. $3.75.)

PROFESSOR TAYLOR has written a very valuable study of one of the most perplexing problems in the religion and history of Rome—the steps which led to the idea of the divinity of the emperor, and the early stages in the development of the cult. In no other work in English is there so careful and thorough a collection of the material which bears on the subject. Chapters III. to V., which are the most strictly historical, will undoubtedly be of great permanent value. Here Miss Taylor has recorded the almost day to day development of the cult. The distinction of the steps taken at different periods and in different circumstances does much to clear the air of controversy. Miss Taylor rightly emphasizes the difference between the attitude of Julius, eager to claim a Hellenistic divinity, and that of Augustus, cautious in accepting divinity at all and striving to keep it within Roman bounds. The importance, too, of the rival claims of Antony in determining the form of Augustus's divine honors is clearly brought out and is of high interest. Particularly valuable in this connection is appendix III., in which are collected the inscriptions recording divine honors to Julius, to Antony, and to Augustus and his house.

The more controversial parts of the book are, as is perhaps natural, less convincing. Professor Taylor in the first two chapters and again in the first two appendixes reasserts her theory (see *J. H. S.*, XLVII. 53–62, and *Class. Phil.*, XXII. 162 ff.) that the Hellenistic divine monarchy of Alexander was founded on that of Persia and that the worship of the *daemon* was an essential feature in the cult. This theory was challenged by Mr. Tarn (*J. H. S.*, XLVIII. 206–219) and, though I am not competent

to express an expert opinion, I do not think, as a layman, that Miss Taylor has succeeded in reinstating her position. From the point of view of the Roman cult I should like to add that, if the worship of the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων of the individual, of whose existence I am still left doubtful (the inscriptions referred to by Miss Taylor on p. 10, n. 22, are all of ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες [plur.] *i.e., di manes,* which is not the same thing), was an essential in the Hellenistic worship, it should find its place in the cult of Julius, who was working on the Greek model. The worship of the Genius of the Emperor, which Miss Taylor takes to be the Roman counterpart of this Greek precedent, was in fact introduced by Augustus, who disliked the Hellenistic model, and was trying to direct the cult into channels with Roman precedent. Some of the other argumentative sections of the book suffer from a desire to work in every scrap of evidence which might be brought to bear, and the consequent recurrence of "possibly", "may have been", "perhaps", in these pages often weakens an argument which in itself is sound. Occasionally, too, Professor Taylor assumes one view of a controversial question as the only possible truth; thus on page 46 it is asserted that the rites connected with Acca Larentia and Tarpeia are offerings to the dead, though there is good reason for the supposition that they were both chthonic deities given human form in legend. Similarly, on page 49, the worship of the *di manes* is taken to show that "in Roman worship all the dead were called gods", a highly disputable proposition. The Lar, too, is assumed to be an ancestor spirit, and though on page 50 there is a suggestion that he may not have been such in origin, it is confidently asserted that "he represented in the view of the ordinary man another indication of the divine in man"; but that is just the question. The fact is that the necessary preliminary to the writing of a chapter on the ideas of the divinity of man in Republican Rome is a complete reëxamination of the whole question of the Roman attitude toward the dead, and it is unsafe to take as one's basis the assertion of one side in a very debatable question.

But such defects in argument usually touch extraneous matters and the main thread of the story is told with a firm and sure mastery of the facts. There will be few readers who will not learn a great deal from the book, and to all Miss Taylor has given a wealth of material and, in the main, a wise interpretation of it.

Oxford, England. CYRIL BAILEY.

A History of Surnames of the British Isles: a Concise Account of their Origin, Evolution, Etymology, and Legal Status. By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xx, 508. $7.50.)

THOUGH much has been written about British surnames, no general history has been attempted before. This first one presents little that is entirely new, but rather orders, analyzes, and, in general, makes usable the

old. It clears the ground of a thicket of tradition and delusion and so reveals in their true significance such facts as may justifiably be deduced from original records of indisputable authenticity. Not all extant records have been brought to bear on the subject here; it is not the author's purpose to exhaust his subject, but merely to chart the field. In consequence his facts are general. He fully demonstrates, for example, that there were no surnames in the sense of hereditary family names in the British Isles before the Conquest, that in the eleventh century there were few hereditary names, and "the majority of people had but a single name", that during the twelfth century a descriptive name in addition to the baptismal name came into general use, but it was an individual not an hereditary family name, and that "by the end of the thirteenth century half the people had family names and by the end of the fourteenth perhaps three-fourths were so distinguished"; and he concludes that "no definite time can be assigned for the first acknowledgment of the hereditary nature of surnames, such recognition being a gradual process which was not uniform in all classes of society" nor in all parts of the country, and "it is doubtful whether the custom is yet thoroughly established throughout the British Isles". In our universal acceptance of genealogies running back to the Conquest, we tacitly accept the thesis that surnames were general from an early period, which is contrary to the fact as it is here presented. Of these genealogies, the author says: "Notwithstanding the work of the learned societies specializing in historical and genealogical research, the thousand or more family memoirs which have been published, the vast number of pedigrees given in county and local chronicles, and the collections of antiquaries, it is a difficulty to find many families whose pedigrees, extending back to the Conquest, are dated and documented to satisfaction." As for the ceaseless immigration of foreigners into England from the earliest times, and the effect on the history of surnames, the author concludes that "race, language, and name are not interdependent", and that in general the proportion of foreign blood has always exceeded the proportion of foreign names. Foreign names have commonly not retained their original form on British soil, but have been translated into English, Anglicized, or rationalized, or even dropped entirely for new names, usually place or occupational names, more familiar to English tongues. Old English names, however, though checked by the Conquest, came in anew with aliens, and have survived in far greater numbers than is generally admitted.

The author has followed up his history of British surnames, and in a sense rounded it out, by a complete workable classification of surnames, an exposition of the processes by which names have derived, a demonstration of how they may be reduced to their original forms, and finally, by a study of the legal status of names which presents new and important material. This "history", is, in fact, rather more than a history; it is an elementary

handbook to the subject of British surnames, complete, authoritative, trustworthy, and unlikely to be superseded very soon as a whole, though special studies may more sharply define its conclusions. Of its relation to the whole subject of British names, the author says: "The subject will not be exhausted until we get a dictionary constructed by philologists on chronological principles identical with those which have been adopted in the compilation of . . . the *New English Dictionary*. . . . The present volume is not more than a first introduction to such an enterprise."

The University of Chicago. RAMONA BRESSIE.

A History of Sweden. By ANDREW A. STOMBERG, Professor of the Scandinavian Languages and Literature, University of Minnesota, formerly Professor of History, Gustavus Adolphus College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xiv, 823. $8.50.)

THE story of the Swedish nation, in certain periods at least, is one of the most important in European history. Historians who write in English have, however, allowed the greater part of this highly romantic field to lie untilled. American students, therefore, owe a real debt to Professor Stomberg whose *History of Sweden* enables the reader to follow the development of the Swedish people throughout their entire life. No doubt fuller justice would have been done to the subject if the narrative had been expanded into two volumes; but even in its condensed form it is fairly adequate and quite satisfying.

The author begins with a chapter on the land and the people and after sketching what is known and surmised about prehistoric times he goes forward into the Middle Ages. Northern history in those ages is often a dreary tale, and this part of Professor Stomberg's account is the least satisfactory. But a new time began with the Vasas and the story of this age is told with insight and enthusiasm. The decline in the eighteenth century and "the crowning national disaster" in the early nineteenth are discussed in less detail; but no attempt is made to conceal or palliate the unwisdom and the weaknesses of statesmen and people in that freakish age. The remarkable progress of the nation—political, intellectual, and material—is described in five excellent chapters comprising nearly one-fourth of the volume. The narrative comes down to 1928.

So long as the author deals with the facts of what is distinctly Swedish history his statements and generalizations are usually exact and well founded; but when he passes the boundaries of his subject his tread is less confident. King Alfred could not have ceded "the northwestern part of the island" in the Treaty of Wedmore (p. 88), since he had no territories there. The reviewer suspects that Thielmar of Marseilles, who is credited with the statement that there were many Danes in Kiev in 1118 (p. 101), should be Thietmar of Merseburg, who makes a similar statement in his

entry for 1018. Jämtland and Härjedalen at one time belonged to Norway but never to Denmark (p. 297). It is hardly safe to say that the army of Gustavus Adolphus "probably constituted the most efficient fighting machine that the world up to that time had seen" (p. 353). Norway was not ceded to Sweden in the Treaty of Kiel (p. 630) but to the king of Sweden; in 1814 the distinction was important. But these errors (and others that might be listed) are after all of minor importance; and they should not prevent us from seeing that Professor Stomberg has written his narrative with great care and has produced a very useful book.

The University of Illinois. LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Les Caractères Originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Française. Par MARC BLOCH. [Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B, Skrifter, XIX.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Company; Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1931. Pp. xvii, 261, 18 plates. 45 fr.)

THIS book is not only the first general survey of French rural history; it is an example of the value of good synthesis. It deals necessarily with old problems and much discussed issues, but gives them new aspects and fresh significance by placing them in their proper setting—a development which goes back into prehistoric centuries. The strongest impression derived by the reviewer from this study is that despite all later changes the foundations of French rural institutions were laid before French history, properly speaking, had begun.

Not only were most of the medieval and modern rural sites occupied in pre-Roman times; they were already cultivated, in the author's opinion, by agricultural techniques which were only slightly affected by later invasions or political changes, and which conditioned the life of rural communities down to the agricultural revolution. All the familiar European systems are found in France in historic times; triennial rotation north of the Loire, biennial mainly in the south, and irregular extensive farming in regions of poor soil and scant population. Again, in the north the open-field system was normal, with its regular plan of narrow strips; in the south, open fields with irregularly placed, more oblong, block-parcels. Though the evidence for the existence of these techniques depends largely on post-Renaissance records, the author assigns their origin to the early conditions of settlement by closely knit groups, involving allotment of parcels to large family units as successive fields were won for cultivation. With time this produced a maze of individual holdings, each composed of many small and scattered plots. This situation, combined with the need for pasturing animals on the stubble, stood in the way of individualistic farming until the revolution, though more in the north than in the south. It forced coöperative methods that kept the village community in active existence as a vital social group,

through centuries when these underlying institutions of rural life were submerged in the complex superstructure of the *seigneurie*. The evolution of the latter as an economic unit is followed from the days of its first clear records, the polyptychs, to the pre-Revolutionary era when capitalistic landlords tried to recoup the losses that came with diminishing rent values by reconstituting the reserve and developing new techniques of exploitation. The rise of the peasants from serfs to quasi-owners of hereditary holdings is drawn in its proper relation to the agricultural and manorial institutions which served as the frame of rural life. An interesting connection is made between the puzzling *mansus* and the original allotments to kinship groups, so that the *mansus*, though appearing first in the records as a fiscal unit of the *seigneurie*, is traced back with the field-systems to the organic and fundamental relationships of the rural group to the soil.

A brief review can give no adequate impression of the wealth of material in this study, which will interest students of all periods and all phases of French history. Throughout, interesting comparisons are made with pertinent developments in other countries. Important French regional variations are carefully noted, with valuable bibliographical references. A series of clear maps will aid the reader to follow the essential theme of village territorial arrangements.

Harvard University. CHARLES H. TAYLOR.

Études sur les Institutions Financières de la France à la Fin du Moyen Age. Par GUSTAVE DUPONT-FERRIER, Professeur à l'École des Chartes. Tome I., *Les Élections et leur Personnel.* (Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1931. Pp. 311. 75 fr.)

THIS volume, along with one which is to follow it, will constitute an exhaustive study of extraordinary taxes in France from 1355 to 1500. Distinguished from revenues of the *domaine* these "aides" will in the second volume be described as to their character and yield; for the moment we are told of the territorial units through which they were collected and of the personnel of the collectors. Painstaking and constructive scholarship is everywhere apparent. Since local records have disappeared the author has been obliged to extract his material largely from the first seventy-one registers of the *Cour des Aides*. The epitome of his territorial findings appears as a fine, large map of the *élections* and their constituent units in the time of Louis XI.

The *élections* took form only gradually. When, in 1355, an *aide* was first imposed it was declared a temporary expedient and such was the profession of royalty about its successors until 1436. Both before and after 1436 the *aide* was, further, always needed in haste. Hence the *élus*, the collectors, utilized in making collection the most available administrative

units. Since these were ecclesiastical, feudal, or domanial areas, the earliest *élections* were such. Their increasing number arose not so much from extension over a wider area as from subdivision, this testifying to greater care in elaborating the system, particularly around Paris. The *élections* were not coextensive with the *domaine* (which the author has described elsewhere) but crept into feudal territory and thereby extended royal authority. The sixteenth and seventeenth century distinction between *pays d'élection* and *pays d'états* had not yet arisen. In many regions where provincial estates were still meeting there were *élections*. The grouping of the latter into *généralités* was tardy, arising at length from the urgency of the *généraux*, each eager to define the area for which he was responsible. Subdivisions of the *élections* were formulated on ecclesiastical or feudal units like the archdeaconry or constabulary. At the base was the *feu*, originally a family but from the beginning of the fifteenth century becoming a fictitious unit and including from four to ten, or even sixty-six persons. "The dread of the fisc marvelously appeased jealousies"—"plures simul uxores . . . conviverent", as Masselin noted in 1483.

Two maps indicate the extension of *greniers à sel*. Though the appearance of these antedates 1355 they did not become permanent and numerous until the reign of Charles VI. The increased number, however, extended over only one-half of the realm, over the valleys of the Seine and the Loire and the Mediterranean littoral.

The choice, character, and perquisites of the *élus* and of all officials below, around, and above them are described at length. Familiar aspects of officialdom emerge. Though the *élus* were in origin elective, they quickly became appointive. Their term of office extended itself. Ecclesiastics and nobles as well as bourgeois sought nomination. Venality appeared from the fifteenth century, punished at first by enforced resignations but soon tolerated. The profits of office expanded beyond the salaries received; "la course aux offices" soon became "la course aux écus". Aspirants had their servants waiting beside the sickbed of an official that on news of the latter's death they might hurry to the secretaries of the king to secure the appointment. "Archomanie", the madness for office characteristic of later centuries in France, took hold of the body social in the fifteenth century. Professor Dupont-Ferrier appends to his text lists of the higher officials as well as a documented catalogue of early *greniers à sel*. His volume is definitive and is essential to any medieval library.

Bryn Mawr College. H. L. Gray.

Bristol Charters, 1155–1373. Edited by N. Dermott Harding, B. A., City Archivist. [Bristol Record Society's Publications, R. B. Mowat, M. A., General Editor, volume I.] (Bristol: the Society. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 231.)

The Great Red Book of Bristol. Edited by E. W. W. Veale, LL.D., Solicitor, and Lecturer in Law at Bristol University. Introduction, part I., *Burgage Tenure in Mediæval Bristol.* [Bristol Record Society's Publications, volume II.] (Bristol: the Society. 1931. Pp. ix, 343.)

These handsome volumes are the first to be published by the recently founded Bristol Record Society. The society and, in particular, the general editor, who is already so well known to the scholarly public of America, are to be warmly congratulated on the auspicious launching of a worthy project. As they point out, "the history of Bristol is so closely bound up with that of England, and, since the end of the sixteenth century, with that of America", that the great value of their publications to students on both sides of the Atlantic should be obvious. Indeed, Bristol is almost as familiar to the American schoolboy as Plymouth.

In this first volume, of course, there are no accounts of transatlantic voyages. But long before John Cabot won his £10 of royal bounty, other Bristol adventurers had pushed across a narrower sea to begin a new era in the municipal and commercial history of Ireland. In the collection before us stand Henry II.'s grant of Dublin to the men of Bristol, to be inhabited and held with the same liberties as they enjoyed at home, and John's enumeration of these liberties. There will be found also Henry III.'s encouragement of that great engineering feat, the construction of a new channel for the Frome, which made possible the later maritime greatness of the port; and Edward III.'s epoch-making creation of Bristol as a separate county, setting forth the bounds as determined by official perambulation, with John Rocque's map of 1742 to illustrate them.

These and other charters of first-rate importance are now made accessible in a scholarly edition by Miss Harding, the city archivist. For the sake of the less erudite reader, they are accompanied by a translation. It is true that the translator seems, strangely enough, not to have consulted Ballard's *British Borough Charters,* and so to have missed various clews afforded by the privileges of London and other towns. Such comparison would have prevented, for example, the rendering of *hospicium* (p. 8) as "a hospice". But this is a small matter when we have a reliable Latin text on the opposite page.

The second volume is entirely different. It is an essay on burgage tenure, serving to introduce the forthcoming *Great Red Book of Bristol,* and incidentally constituting a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Laws in the University of London. Judged either as a dissertation or as an introduction to a borough customal, this is a very superior piece of work. Mr. Veale has happily combined a mass of documentary evidence, most of it hitherto unpublished, with lucid discussion of general principles. A valuable appendix of 143 pages contains a calendar of local deeds and feet of

fines, together with parallel tables of landgable rents for the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It is on this material that the earlier chapters are mainly based; but they also take into account the customs of other boroughs, the standard works on medieval English law, and even the more recent literature on the question of origins.

In this respect Mr. Veale refuses to follow Hemmeon, and for that lapse from the Maurer-Below-Stubbs tradition the reviewer will be the last to censure him! Many other special points are taken up, which are of great interest to the student of social and economic development, as well as to the legal historian. Mr. Veale's discussion of feudal tenure in the borough, his comparison of borough custom and the common law, his explanation of *tyna castri,* and certain other technical matters may give occasion for argument; but in general his book is unquestionably sound and adds materially to our knowledge of a very difficult subject.

One of the best features of Mr. Veale's treatment is his emphasis on topography as fundamental to an understanding of tenurial arrangements. He reviews such outstanding facts in this connection as have been made clear by local historians, but unfortunately they are not many. Eventually, we may hope, the publications of the Bristol Record Society will stimulate further research in this direction. And in the meantime may it be suggested that we need more and better maps by which to locate the buildings, streets, and quarters of medieval Bristol?

Cornell University. CARL STEPHENSON.

Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr. (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. xviii, 482. $5.00.)

THE special occasion for this publication is the fiftieth anniversary of Professor Burr's graduation from Cornell. That which makes this tribute of honor imperative is hid from none who know the activities, the accomplishments, the qualities of the life of scholarship and teaching then begun, and any impulse to rehearse these matters here for those unblest with the knowledge of them falters in view of the delightful introduction which Dr. J. F. Jameson has provided for this volume. One might wish to vie with him in expressing the general esteem, but would find no terms so felicitous, playfully erudite, and effective in laudation by their gentle restraint.

The general title of the work serves as a symbol of Dr. Burr's own marked interests in the field of research and the title is justified by the fact that so many of the essays are related to religious persecution or freedom. The medieval theory of persecution is the theme of the opening essay, by Ernest W. Nelson. The theory, it is held, was based on Augustine's views of world order and man's salvation and it is urged that purely religious, not worldly, interests originated and dominated the suppression of heresy. We

doubt if this will carry conviction to all the readers. Wallace Ferguson contributes a subtly discriminating study of Erasmus's attitude toward toleration. Castellio's challenging plea for religious liberty is critically analyzed by Roland H. Bainton, who shows in Castellio's argument the ethical and rational point of view of Erasmus united with a more mystical view of religion due to Sebastian Franck and the German mystics. This important paper provides a finding list of Castellio's works in libraries within the United States. Critical skill also marks Edward M. Hulme's examination of Lelio Sozzini's Confession of Faith, an exquisitely adroit statement by a talented jurist warding off the fatal charge of heresy, while the fine literary art with which Lois Oliphant Gibbons tells the tale of Hermann Löwer makes readable the horror of witchcraft trials in the electorate of Cologne.

Was medieval heresy connected with social unrest, economic or political? Dealing with this question Austin P. Evans uses the most ascetic caution in concluding that in certain cases heretical tenets were incidental to revolt against social ills. This might have been reënforced by a consideration of Arnold of Brescia and the later *Arnaldistae*. The ever fascinating subject of medieval sects certainly clamors for a synthetic social view of life in those times. In two other productions the major theme of the volume plays a part: in Alfred H. Sweet's examination of John de Feckenham's position in the reign of Mary Tudor, and in George H. Sabine's analysis of Jean Bodin's *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* and determination of its historical setting.

These essays somewhat related in topic are accompanied by others that enrich knowledge with subjects more diverse. A dozen more authors eminent for academic position and fruitful authorship have their say. A. T. Olmstead explains an historical method for Hebrew history which is emancipated from "the orthodox Higher Criticism of the last generation". *Tempora mutantur!* E. A. Lowe, of Oxford, shows by illustrations how paleographical minutiæ often corroborate an historical tradition. Edna V. Moffett shows that a Wellesley College manuscript is a lost diploma of Otto III. W. E. Lunt adds knowledge about the consent of the clergy to taxation under Henry III. Frederic C. Church gives an entertaining account of Vincenzo Maggi, a Protestant politician. F. G. Marcham measures James I.'s ration of pleasure to work as indicated in that monarch's letters to Robert Cecil. Conceptions of government and policy are the interest of Louise Fargo Brown's sketch of the first Earl of Shaftesbury's career and of G. M. Dutcher's dealing with the origin and nature of Enlightened Despotism. We are taken to France by Leo Gershoy to consider the life of the young Barère, by George G. Andrews to study the part played by Revolutionary newspapers, and by Louis R. Gottschalk to consider whether circumstance or conspiracy accounts for the French

Revolution. At last our own land figures in the feast, for Elizabeth Donnan records the agitation against the Slave Trade in Rhode Island, 1784–1790.

A portrait of Professor Burr embellishes the volume. We see him benignantly recognizing in these befriended authors a mastery of materials, a true method of search, a dignity of expression, instructive results, a reflection of the scholarship which is his own ideal and practice.

Lowell, Massachusetts. FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Problem of Federalism: a Study in the History of Political Theory. By SOBEI MOGI. With a Preface by Professor HAROLD J. LASKI. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. 600; 605–1144. $12.00.)

THIS is not a history of federalism but of ideas relating to federalism. It is, as the subtitle implies, a study in the history of political theory, in other words, a survey of writings on federalism, especially during the past two hundred years. German theorists, moreover, receive the bulk of the author's attention, for they occupy the whole of one volume and a part of the other. Hence if the work were to be given a title strictly indicative of its contents it would be called a history of ideas relating to federalism in modern Germany, with introductory chapters on federalist philosophy in Great Britain and the United States. British federalism, from Locke to Laski, gets a hundred and twenty pages out of eleven hundred. France and Frenchmen are left out altogether, except for the incidental mention of Montesquieu and Rousseau. One finds some difficulty, therefore, in agreeing with the author's designation of the work in his preface as a "comprehensive" survey.

These volumes derive some interest from the fact that Mr. Mogi is a well educated Oriental who has sought to discover and to evaluate the drift of Western political ideas. In doing this he uses a technique which is all his own and writes in a style that does not give his readers much intellectual relaxation. It is heavily legalistic, with short, jerky paragraphs, not well knit together. In dealing with stars of the fifth or sixth magnitude in the galaxy of German political philosophers, such as Trieps, Triepel, Koch, and Kahl, the discussion reaches a point where its interest and importance will hardly carry it beyond the small circle of dialecticians in German constitutional law. A commendatory feature of these chapters, however, is their concern with the relation between each writer and the events of his time. The practical applications of federalist ideas, moreover, are indicated from time to time, although often in a rather desultory fashion.

Seven chapters on the history of American federal ideas from Roger Williams and John Cotton to Roscoe Pound and Walter Lippmann form an interesting and significant portion of the work which might well be printed as a separate monograph for convenient use by students of government in the United States. But here again the author's sense of proportion and perspective leaves something to be desired. Chief Justice Marshall goes his way in eight lines, with no mention of McCulloch *v.* Maryland, which is perhaps the most important decision relating to federalism ever given in any court of law. Bryce's *American Commonwealth,* on the other hand, gets a fifteen page review although it is a description of a federalism in operation rather than an original contribution to the history of federal ideas.

Much intense and patient industry has gone into this work but not so much discrimination as might have been desired. Through a vast amount of literature Mr. Mogi has cut a wide swath, although the grain is not always threshed out. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of good material has been brought together, especially with respect to German political theories and theorists during the nineteenth century. An excellent bibliography, comprehensive and accurate, is appended to the second volume.

California Institute of Technology. WILLIAM B. MUNRO.

Martin Bucer. By HASTINGS EELLS, Associate Professor of History in Ohio Wesleyan University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 539. $5.00.)

IF any primacy is accorded to Martin Bucer it will be that of the Reformation's chief "business man". Professor Eells has given us a copious record of his amazingly busy life, occupied with religion, church, and politics, in a tempestuous era of European history. Bucer was born in 1491. Professor Eells, however, is not one who draws biography out of a cradle; he deals cavalierly—in a first chapter of but nine pages—with the thirty years of Bucer's "youth". But the record of the last thirty years, from 1521 to 1551, is packed with proceedings: conferences, colloquies, disputations, and diets, with catechisms and formulas, with concords and discords. A virile figure was Bucer, prominent in two score of gatherings, from the Bern Disputation of 1528 to the Ratisbon Colloquy of 1546, known personally in hundreds of German and Swiss towns, known by word in most of Europe.

His home was Strasbourg; his rôle was the double one of organizer and peacemaker. For "organizers" when was there richer opportunity than in that generation; for peacemakers when so much discord to compose? Protestantism seemed to need discipline and constitutions. Bucer seemed born to supply them. Through him the Reformation was formally introduced in many a region of Germany; and it is regrettable that Professor

Eells did not seize the rich opportunity to study fully and represent the structure and qualities of Bucer's contribution to ecclesiastical organization. A considerable achievement here remains to be assessed.

It is on Bucer the peacemaker that his biographer prefers to dwell. But not all the peacemakers are blessed, as they should be, with perspicacious intelligence and profound insight. Bucer was not. Well-nigh tireless, he rode and tramped about Europe, fired with zeal to dissolve the differences dividing the official houses of Protestantism. Did only a sacrament separate Wittenberg and Zurich? Such differences, he thought, are but appearances, vagaries, myths of mind; a colloquy, a conversation, a concession, a formula of concord, these be the myth destroyers. Bucer practiced, in short, the propaganda and the wisdom of Rotarianism; and he won honor in the world of magistrates.

But in other courts there is less esteem for Bucer. Generosity of a sort he had; but not that generosity of soul which is rooted in religious conviction and comes to flower in tolerance. Bucer—and, I fear, his biographer—shows little understanding of individuals like Denck, Franck, Schwenkfeld (here labeled "Separatists"), who sought a peace outside the established order. To such, Bucer accorded another peace, another formula: the peace of discipline, the formula of obedience.

Only a conscientious scholar would undertake to follow Bucer in all his entrances and exits. There is the precision of a daybook in these forty chapters. Of documentation there is, indeed, an excess; notes and chapters average two and a half and ten pages, respectively. Fresh phrases attest and relieve the wearying work of the patient scholar. If only in this crown of his labor were the jewel of integration!

As to Professor Eells's final judgment, that "Bucer was a genius", this very book cries the contrary. He had not the profoundly religious nature of Luther; he had not the majesty of Calvin; he lacked high passion for liberty. His statesmanship was little above the level of politic compromise, and in tactics he was confessedly lower than the angels. His contemporaries judged him accurately. Chancellor Brück said: "Bucer is truly an excellent man for negotiating in theological affairs after the manner of the world."

Duke University. ERNEST W. NELSON.

The Hurts of Haldworth and their Descendants at Savile Hall, the Ickles, and Hesley Hall, being a Study of Social and Domestic Life in Past Times; more particularly in Hallamshire and at Nottingham during the Reign of Elizabeth, at Rotherham under Cromwell, and at Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century. By Sir GEORGE RERESBY SITWELL, Baronet. (Oxford: University Press. 1930. Pp. li, 329. 21 s.)

SIR GEORGE begins his introduction with a description of Ecclesfield near

the modern Sheffield. The families that interest him there were in the thirteenth century free tenants or franklins, a military class who had served in war generation after generation, but to whom farming was the business of life. They were, says the author, the best educated class in the community and their kind was, in the words of Thomas Wright, the "most dignified and in general the most moral factor of medieval society". They lived in a world, says Sir George, "as unchanging as the giant oaks around them". About the middle of the fourteenth century a new order of precedence was arising; the upper middle class was becoming divided into knights, squires, and valets. The word valet begins to be translated as yeoman, a word which derives by the latest philology from "yonge man". "By a change in the meaning of a single word or rather in the world of ideas of which words are the imperfect expression" the yeoman class was depressed. The new word gentleman was coming in. The richer franklins assumed the new name of gentlemen and the rest of the free tenant class dropped into a status less than had been theirs before; they became husbandmen and yeomen. Such is the introduction in brief. In chapter I. the author traces the beginnings of the Hurt family, in chapter II. he describes Haldworth Hall, its surroundings, its properties, and the country life around it. In the next two chapters he works out from inventories details as to houses and furnishings and the changes that were taking place in them. Chapters V. and VI. offer a picture of Nottingham in the time of Elizabeth and James I. Chapter IX. deals with Nicholas Hurt who was associated with Sir Thomas Wentworth. Chapters XIV., XV., and XVI. tell us of social life in Sheffield in the eighteenth century. Sir George has followed a family and its connections through the centuries, always with an eye to what in manorial life or town life is significant or interesting. Even in chests and tables he is shrewd enough to catch the processes of history and notes carefully when sets of chairs began to be made.

That he puts the Parliament of 1614 in 1613 is the merest slip. He seems to assume that Sir Thomas Wentworth was not in the Commons of 1624 where "Black Tom" made several speeches. One might question his opinion that husbandmen took precedence of yeomen, and there would be those to doubt his verdict that Strafford did not show "sound judgment in the larger issues". It is easy to suspect that the author has a slightly Whiggish mind.

But how full the book is of the stuff of history. No one interested in the sweep of English history should omit it from his reading any more than Gras's very different study of Crawley manor. Family and manorial histories written from the manuscripts and written by men aware of English history as a whole are what we want now. No one interested in the growth of classes and in their relation to one another should miss the introduction. But the book is crowded with social history. In dealing with the Hurts

the author comes near to dealing with the sojourn of Mr. Everyman through the centuries. Facts about Mr. Everyman are on every page, but now and then more than facts, the comment of one who has thought long and shrewdly about the sequence of the generations. And occasionally Sir George writes sentences that betray that unusual and magic feeling for words so evident in his more famous but not more talented children.

We must go to Betley in Staffordshire and look upon the painted windows, we must walk under the oaks of Ecclesfield, we must see Rotherham, "fair Rotherham" of the Dragon of Wantley, we must enter Rotherham Church and gaze upon the Ickles pew, we must see the Reresby family in the glass at Thybergh.

Yale University. WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606–1607. Edited by DAVID HARRIS WILLSON, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1931. Pp. xxi, 425. $5.00.)

THE parliamentary sessions of 1606 and 1607 had little of the dramatic tenseness and were swayed by none of the dominating personalities of many of the Stuart parliaments, and this may in part account for the relative lack of printed sources. Yet these years were far from unimportant. Chiefly, there was a crystalizing of anti-Catholic and pro-Puritan sentiment after the Gunpowder Plot, and a fixing of the status of Scotchmen under the union of the crowns. Bowyer's diary is supplemented by quotations from related manuscript sources, but even Professor Willson's resourceful editing has brought to light little that is new regarding either religion or Scottish union.

Quarrels over revenues and expenditures, hostility to the administrative courts and councils, and insistence by the House of Commons on its powers and privileges, are matters commonly associated with later parliaments. But it is in regard to these essentials of the constitutional struggle that Bowyer's notes are most enlightening. As an observer of the early stages of the struggle, Bowyer was peculiarly competent. As secretary to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst and holder of minor positions of royal patronage, his personal interests indicated a royalist bias. But this was partly counterbalanced by his long experience in the study and practice of law and by his knowledge of parliamentary history and precedents. In 1604 he became keeper of the rolls of chancery and of other records in the Tower. This position was influential as well as lucrative. It gave him intimate knowledge alike of records and of the men (both parliamentarians and royalists) who had occasion to use them; and it gave him membership in important committees. The results are reflected in his diary.

The diary gives evidence of diverging views regarding taxation, courts,

and other issues. But chiefly interesting is the sense of almost constant preoccupation of the Commons with questions of status and privilege. The lower house is revealed as keenly sensitive concerning its rights and powers, and resentful of any suggestion of inferiority. This is neatly illustrated by the accounts of conferences between committees of the two houses. Forebodings of conflict over royal prerogative are also often apparent, even in such minor matters as the refusal of the Commons to accede to action by the king for securing attendance by members of Parliament. A general impression derived from reading the diary is that these were years of uncertainty and of inadequate leadership; of Lords and councilors with superior airs ruffling the Commons and without the essentials of control; and of the king's self-confident egotism destroying the confidence of the Commons.

On one occasion the author dismisses a long debate by merely remarking that there were "manie speaches, divers to small purpose". Such omissions make the book more readable but hardly add to its value as a source. Nevertheless, it is chiefly useful as a measurably objective parliamentary record supplementing the Commons *Journals;* and this is recognized in the excellent editorial notes and the detailed index.

Washington, D. C. WITT BOWDEN.

The European Powers and the Near Eastern Question, 1806–1807. By PAUL F. SHUPP, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 349.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. 576. $6.75.)

Bonaparte's Adventure in Egypt. By Lieutenant-Colonel P. G. ELGOOD, C. M. G. (Oxford: University Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. 262. $4.75.)

THE eighteen months between the treaties of Pressburg and Tilsit were practically the midway period of Napoleon's career and its turning point. In time they were a small fraction of his life, as the Near Eastern Question was a minor segment of his policies. The pivotal point of the numerous problems crowded into this narrow subject was Constantinople. The account opens with the Treaty of Pressburg and the creation of the Illyrian provinces. The perplexed neutrality of Austria; the critically difficult questions of Sicily, the Ionian Islands, and Albania; the parlous condition of the Ottoman dominions; the Serbian insurrection; the uncertain status of the Danubian principalities; the control of the Straits; the fate of Egypt and the Red Sea route to India; the rivalry over Persia as the key to Asia; the revival of Polish nationality; the vacillating behavior of Prussia; and the Continental System were the principal problems which were to determine the relations of war or peace between the Emperor of the French on

the one hand and the British and Russian empires on the other. Efforts for peace almost succeeded in July, 1806, when sudden shifts in the situation precipitated the campaign of Jena. In spite of renewed endeavors for peace, the problems were so complicated that the campaigns of Eylau and Friedland followed. At Tilsit Napoleon and Alexander came to terms but under conditions which forced England to single-handed efforts to safeguard its widespread empire and far-flung interests. Vast distances, uncertain means of communication, and slow transmission of news enhanced the difficulties of the statesmen of those days, and both imposed upon and afforded to diplomatic agents responsibilities and freedom for initiative quite unknown to-day. The skillful way in which Professor Shupp has clarified this tangled situation deserves much gratitude and promises more valuable contributions from him in the future.

Though this excellent and comprehensive volume is based on full use of the published materials and on the author's researches in the British, French, and Austrian archives, it is neither definitive nor complete for the excellent bibliography reveals the author's failure not only to consult the Russian archives, but also any materials in Russian and the languages of the Near East. In other words, the whole situation is seen through Western lenses except for the fairly frequent cases in which some Russian or other Near Eastern sources are available to Occidental readers.

The author has successfully organized and correlated the mass of detailed information and narrated the events and proceedings in a lucid, straightforward, correct style, and with such absolute impartiality that diplomatic dispatches seem to replace human beings. Professor Shupp, moreover, displays the commendable virtue of summarizing situations, and ending chapters with conclusions that afford assurance that both the author and the reader know their latitude and longitude. Another virtue to the author's credit is the excellent index.

As Egypt fascinated Bonaparte so his campaign in the Land of the Pyramids has caught the world's imagination from that day to this. Lieutenant Colonel Elgood, unlike most writers who have essayed to retell the story, has combined long familiarity with the scene and ample experience in military service. To these two facts are due the chief merits of his book. Its faults are explained by his lack of training and experience in historical research and composition. The treatment is generally accurate, often illuminating; the tone is surprisingly fair and the judgments usually sound; the style is readable, frequently lively. The general reader and the military man will enjoy the volume but the historian will get little more than atmosphere from it.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

L'Espagne et Napoléon. Par GEOFFROY DE GRANDMAISON. Tome III., 1812–1814. (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. v, 427. 36 fr.)

M. DE GRANDMAISON's third and last volume of *L'Espagne et Napoléon* carries his story from 1812 to 1814 and the first abdication. His first and second volumes, published in 1908 and 1925, respectively, had already given both the professional and amateur historian the measure of his scholarship and penetration. For Grandmaison is in the direct line of such historians as Albert Vandal, Louis Madelin, and Albert Sorel. That is, while making use of enough scientific "methodology" to satisfy the most exacting Ph.D., he somehow manages always to remember that history is an art and that only through art can it genuinely illuminate and clarify the past. This will account for the brilliant word pictures with which this latest work of his abounds, and for his unabashed use of anecdote wherever anecdote is truly revealing. His picture of the Spanish princes at Valençay; of the emperor hinting to Captain Reiset that in view of the dangers of an escape it would not matter if their mounts went lame; of the infatuation of these deported Bourbons for mechanical "gadgets"; of their Spanish largesse to their *entourage*—these are memorable touches. Poor Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain, and as generalissimo of the imperial forces, is done with most of the skill of Masson and with the documentation that Masson lacked. The happy warrior, Suchet, the futile Cortes at Cadiz, the brusque and sorely tried Wellington, the difficult Soult, really live again. The guerilla warfare that proved Napoleon's nemesis is excellently dealt with. A chapter devoted to the prisoners on each side, particularly to the tragic episode of Cabrera, whence 4000 French prisoners emerged in 1814 out of an original prison colony of 15,000, is handled in the grand manner.

The limitations of the book are the limitations of a frankly French point of view. One is a little grateful to Grandmaison for speaking of the French as "our" men; it lets the reader know where he stands. But the author's Gallic common sense leads him to miss a good deal in the land of Don Quixote which is worth the telling; it prevents his having any very sure insight into the nationalist and religious ecstacy of the Spanish people, an ecstacy as poetic and unreasonable as the dreams of the man who had sent his armies against them. Perhaps a little too often Grandmaison's defense against this unknown quantity in the Spanish character is irony and raillery, often amusing but sometimes annoyingly blind. His book whets the appetite for a study of comparable proportions written from the point of view of the Spanish spirit. It also illustrates perfectly, if unintentionally, why the Emperor of the French never knew what the Spanish were driving at.

As for the factual matter with which Grandmaison deals, his organization and method are most happy. In general, no important questions are

left unanswered. Grandmaison's three volumes are as indispensable to the study of Napoleon's inept struggle with Spain as is Fugier's *Napoléon et l'Espagne* to the study of how Napoleon inherited the Spanish problem from the Directory.

The University of Virginia. STRINGFELLOW BARR.

Il Tricolore Italiano, 1796–1870. Per ENRICO GHISI. (Milan: Anonima per l'Arte della Stampa. 1931. Pp. 384. 150 l.)

THE Italian tricolor, before becoming the national flag, served for many years as the symbol of revolution. Its history is that of the making of modern Italy. It was the sacred emblem of the Sicilian insurrection in 1821, of the revolution in the Romagna in 1831, of every uprising of Mazzini's Young Italy and of Garibaldi's red shirts, and of the many revolutions and battlefields of 1848 and 1849; as the national flag of Piedmont and then of Italy, it waved, with the shield of the House of Savoy superimposed on the white field, in the campaigns of 1859, 1860, and 1866; finally it was unfurled on the Campidoglio in Rome at the completion of Italian unity in September, 1870.

The colors red, white, and green figured in every popular patriotic demonstration, great ingenuity often being shown in their use. Devoted women worked them into cockades and cravats, or secretly prepared flags of them from improvised materials to be distributed to the heroes at the hour of combat. Incendiary leaflets were printed on tricolor paper; little tricolor balloons were sent up at opportune moments, or pigeons were released with tricolor ribbons attached to their feet; eggs containing tricolor liquid were thrown against monuments or against armorial shields of the despots; bengal lights were always of these colors, while often at the theater an actress would appear dressed in white and green, and when she was presented with a huge bunch of red roses the public would break out in raptures of applause. In times of popular excitement acts which in other times would seem puerile, become heroic. Many demonstrators were sent to jail for long terms. The tricolor in Italy was for three-quarters of a century the symbol of liberty, struggle, sacrifice.

All of these things are recounted by Ghisi in this quarto volume, beautifully printed and superbly illustrated in color, which takes its undisputed place as the standard work on the subject. It is a scholarly production, representing fifty years of study and research. It is full of documents incorporated in the text, and it is rich in bibliographical and explanatory notes. It figures, however, as an extraordinary collection of well arranged material, rather than as a synthetic history. The first part, nearly half the volume, relates to the Napoleonic period in Italy, 1796–1814, and was first published twenty-five years ago in the historical review, *Il Risorgimento Italiano*. It here reappears considerably revised.

As to the origin of the Italian tricolor, which is the most disputed point in its history, Ghisi makes no special contribution, but follows the conclusions reached by Vittorio Fiorini thirty-five years ago in an erudite study published in the *Nuova Antologia* under the title Le Origini del Tricolore Italiano. Fiorini and Ghisi refute the claim that the flag originated in the attempted Bolognese revolution of 1794, and maintain on the contrary that it did not appear prior to the French occupation of Lombardy in 1796, that it originated in recognition of the liberty promised by the French, and that as a national flag it can be dated only from January 7, 1797.

The last chapters relate to the tricolor as the regimental flags of the Italian army, 1861–1870, and as the flags of the national guard dating from 1859.

The volume has been published by the energetic and scholarly Lombard section of the Società Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, under the supervision of the able heraldic specialist, Marquis General Luigi Rangoni-Machiavelli.

Rome. H. Nelson Gay.

Les Deux Romes et l'Opinion Française: les Rapports Franco-Italiens depuis 1815. Par J. Gay, Professeur à l'Université de Lille. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. viii, 246. 30 fr.)

Franco-Italian Relations, 1860–1865: the Roman Question and the Convention of September. By Lynn M. Case, Instructor in History, the Rice Institute. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 351. $3.50.)

One of these books is old wine, the other new. The contents of M. Gay's volume is old wine, light and cordial, poured into new bottles. All but one of his chapters have been given to the public in one or another form since 1901. Now, matured and reworked, and with the addition of some documents, they are brought together in a volume which makes no pretenses to erudition. The studies that led to M. Gay's *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin* made him affectionately familiar with Italy and its people. The essays in the present volume are by-products of the author's deep and lifelong interests as a scholar whose work has given him an insight into Italian life and history, as a churchman at once devout and liberal, and as a Frenchman who desires to produce a better understanding between Italy and France.

It is this last-named desire that gives the volume its unity. It begins with an essay on Quinet's relations with Italy. Quinet represented the most intelligent form of the anticlerical reaction to Italian nationalism in France; Eugène Rendu and Louis Doubet are introduced in the second

chapter as "two witnesses of the national movement" who were both devoût Catholics of the liberal school. In the next essay, on P. Tosti, M. Gay sketches the life and character of an Italian liberal Catholic, and concludes this part of his book with an essay inspired by his work in southern Italy in which he explores the remote origins and emphasizes the importance of the problem of the South.

The second half of the volume is a rapid sketch of the relations of France and Italy since 1915, originally designed as a series of lectures. Its special value is in the touches of color which the author has added from his personal experience of Italy in 1891–1894 and again in 1916–1918. M. Gay concludes with some remarks on the Lateran Treaty of 1929 and its probable effects on the international position of the papacy.

The chapter on Louis Doubet and Eugène Rendu is the one for which the historian will be most grateful. Brothers-in-law and intimates, with close ties in Italy, these men enjoyed the confidence of Balbo, D'Azeglio, Capponi, the pope, and Napoleon III. They were among the few leaders in French public life who understood the true depth and force of the Italian national movement, and they tirelessly sought to influence French policy on the basis of that understanding, and to reconcile the interests which the events of 1848–1849 had thrown into conflict. The observations of Doubet which M. Gay publishes from Doubet's correspondence with Rendu are especially precious. They give a picture of Italy in 1853 that might be the one on which Cavour based his policy, and which, as M. Gay shows, probably influenced the mind of the emperor.

Mr. Case's volume contains the results of a study of the diplomatic negotiations regarding the Roman Question that led to the Convention of September, 1864. Bringing to bear manuscripts in the archives of France and Great Britain and the documents recently published in Italy, Mr. Case records a day-by-day, almost an hour-by-hour, examination of these negotiations. As an exercise in the chronological reconstruction of an important episode, Mr. Case's study leaves little to be desired. Unfortunately, in his eagerness to use all of his hard-won data, he has forgotten his reader and the larger perspectives of his subject. He has had the happy idea of resorting to the reports of the *procureurs-généraux* of the departments in an effort to determine the influence which public opinion exercised on Napoleon's Italian policy. But the wine which Mr. Case has pressed from his mass of material should have stayed in the cask longer. What he has given us is a book in form only.

The Johns Hopkins University. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury. By his Daughter, LADY GWENDOLEN CECIL. Volumes III. and IV. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1931, 1932. Pp. x, 353; vii, 413. 21 s. each.)

LADY GWENDOLEN CECIL'S long awaited volumes in continuation of her father's biography carry the story from 1880 to the fall of his second ministry in 1892. It is perhaps unfortunate that an effort was not made to complete the work in this second installment, not merely because it would have gained by compression, but because some of the policies here described were rounded off in the years of Lord Salisbury's last administration, and, even more, because the final volume must deal, disproportionately, with events like the South African War, in which the new Chamberlain school was already upsetting the plans of one who cared little for the militarism and imperialism of the new age.

The real success of the authoress in giving us a credible portrait of Lord Salisbury has been achieved in the face of two circumstances beyond her control. In the first place, much of the most interesting detail of the years 1880–1892 has already been fully, and often brilliantly, dealt with in books like Winston Churchill's life of his father, Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, and Newton's *Lord Lyons*. At times Lady Gwendolen's narrative seems defective—as though she assumed that her readers already knew the story. In the second place, manuscript sources are often meager, or nonexistent, for incidents of the first importance. The editors of *British Documents on the Origins of the War* had already warned us in their first volume that public records of Lord Salisbury's administrations were incomplete. It now appears that private correspondence is sometimes little better. Even with his colleagues, the biographer has found Lord Salisbury's correspondence "exiguous", although there seems to be, still unpublished, a good deal between him and Randolph Churchill.

The new volumes add definitely to our knowledge of later Victorian statesmanship in several important directions. To begin with, Lady Gwendolen Cecil has given, with the most intimate knowledge, a complete picture of a type of English statesman whom foreign critics have always found it difficult to understand, and whom the present generation, even in England, incline on principle to misunderstand. Diplomatic history is being written, by professors and others, on the assumption that academic investigation of manuscripts renders unnecessary an understanding of character and motives; and it is well, before the process of learned misrepresentation begins, to have a daughter's affectionate and personal interpretation of a notable statesman singularly disinclined to reveal himself, except through irony. Here was a leader who could honestly speak of "the love of sham power" as "one of those failings whose baseness is out of all proportion to its guilt"; who never pretended to popular sympathies which he did not possess; who allowed his colleagues so generously free a hand that as in the famous Carnarvon-Parnell episode, he involved himself in quite unfounded accusations of election trickery. It is useful to learn that he was so little

enamored of those intimate conversations by which modern statesmanship contrives to do its work that he confessed: "I can't understand the value which people attach to 'talking things over'. Until my own mind is made up I find the intrusion of other men's thoughts merely worrying." It is more than a reviewer's whimsey to suggest George Washington as the nearest parallel among earlier Anglo-Saxon statesmen, in defects as well as virtues. So, in chapter after chapter, the image grows clearer of the perfect old-fashioned Tory—"rough of tongue in public debate, but a great gentleman in private society" had been Gladstone's phrase for him—and his daughter has not spoiled her work by minimizing prejudices, or eliciting democratic meanings from blunt Tory phrases. It was on the rock of this robust conservatism that Randolph Churchill's weaker liberal intentions broke themselves: "Randolph's temperament is essentially feminine", he wrote to a friend, "and I have never been able to get on with women." By the same qualities he fortified Sir Evelyn Baring when that much tried proconsul was wrestling in Egypt with financial disorder and diplomatic intrigue. Strangely enough, judging from these pages, it was the same ironic conservatism which made him disbelieve in molding races like the Egyptians to our civilization, or in expecting European statesmen to behave like English editions of the more respectable Minor Prophets. At the same time he shrank, like others of his type, from anything like extravagance or magniloquence in others. Hence his quite honest suggestions, in more than one letter (*e.g.*, IV. 112–113) that "the Emperor William must be a little off his head"; or his irritation at French impracticability after 1886; or his scorn in rejecting "the archaeological arguments of the Portuguese" about the Empire of Monomotapa, in 1889. Lord Salisbury may have done little for "uplift" but there is something tonic in his dislike of charlatans, his disbelief in political cloud-castles, and his refusal to base the future on anything more decorative than truth.

In spite of the "exiguity" of new material the new volumes are especially important for English world policy down to 1892. The impression is confirmed that the difference between Gladstonian and Conservative in foreign policy down to that point was not between pacifism and jingoism, but between ill-informed vacillation and competent knowledge resolutely but cautiously used. It is clear that in many ways Lord Salisbury's policy, especially in the Near East and the Mediterranean, satisfied the moderate Liberals more than did that of their own leaders. At that time England, outside Africa, had little chance of bold and dashing ventures; but Salisbury proved by 1892, and more especially after Bismarck's death, how fruitful the results could be of incessant attention to difficult facts, even when control over them was very limited. "All negotiations", wrote Salisbury to W. H. Smith in 1887, "and Turkish ones especially must be conducted on

the principle of salmon fishing. *The length of time during which you must play your fish depends on his choice, not yours.*" Lady Gwendolen maintains with much probability in her argument (vol. IV., ch. IV.) that the famous phrase "splendid isolation" had a limited, geographical, and ironical significance when used in 1896, and, further, that, at least down to the time when Chamberlain's less skillful hand began to fret Europe, Lord Salisbury's policy succeeded to a unique degree in maintaining contact, alike with friends and rivals in Europe.

On his greatest achievement, the pacific settlement of African problems, the fourth volume contains four chapters (VIII.-XI.) as interesting as they are important. Here again the impression left is, not of militant imperialism, but of a great lover of peace, forced to deal with an African situation over which his apparent control was slight, and contriving a diplomatic division, between 1887 and 1892, which kept all the straining rivals in some kind of peace. Characteristically he refrained from cheap imperialist phrases. Informed as no other statesman of his time was in African detail, he chilled Rhodes and his admirers by calling the Cape to Cairo route "a curious idea which has lately become prevalent"; and when aggressive adventurers came to grief and shouted for help he thought that "buccaneers should expect to rough it". It is significant that, of the bearing of his cherished project, the Mombasa-Uganda Railway, on the welfare of East African natives, a keen Socialist critic recently used the words "a wise and merciful decision". His deal with Germany over Heligoland and Zanzibar is perhaps the most interesting episode in either volume. Critics in 1890 were many, nor did 1914 see their numbers lessened. But Salisbury, who consulted no one in the early stages of the plan, and left what his biographer calls "a discouraging absence of written records as to his inception of the scheme", would probably have held fast in 1914 to the sentiments of 1890. He gave up what seemed an irritating and indefensible fragment, German rather than English, in exchange "for the removal, now and for the future, of all occasions for quarrelling with Germany in Africa; the rounding off of a large and fruitful opportunity for the development of England's enterprise . . . the safeguarding for all time of her Southern approach to the Nile Valley" (IV. 294). At the same time his recognition of the claims of France to vast stretches of what he called "the light soil" of the Sahara modified French irritability, so that by 1892 "a calm amounting almost to cordiality had replaced the strain and embitterment of Anglo-French relations".

Space forbids comment on Lord Salisbury's cordial understanding with Austria and Italy, or his judicious aloofness from Bismarck's bullying control over friends and allies. No attempt need be made, nor has his daughter made it, to exaggerate his achievements in domestic affairs, or to claim much credit for his Irish policy. The humiliating final suggestion made by

the volumes for self-appreciative modern reformers is that this ironic aristocrat, with the least optimistic of expectations, and less than no unction of thought or phrase, gave Europe what was to prove its last short interval of tranquillity.

Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. J. L. MORISON.

Mr. Gladstone. By WALTER PHELPS HALL, Professor of History, Princeton University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1931. Pp. 275. $3.00.)

As an object of biography, Gladstone is tempting and difficult. For the greater part of sixty years he played a leading rôle on the crowded Victorian stage. In many respects the most typical of the Victorians, he represented ideals and an attitude toward life now often considered well-nigh antediluvian. So different was he from the ordinary run of mortals that at times he appears as a baffling compound of opposites. Few men have aroused such bitter opposition or such deep devotion as did Gladstone. The impress made by his personality has not yet been effaced. Englishmen are apt to be either for or against him.

Clearly realizing the difficulties of his task, Professor Hall has grappled with them and produced a sound, readable, and informative book. His aim "is to portray in broad outline the foremost Englishman of the nineteenth century . . . to stress those events in [his] life . . . which may throw light on his character and the age in which he lived". Only "general", that is to say printed, sources have been used. No attempt has been made to ferret out new facts or to shed new light upon obscure episodes. Apart from the first chapter on The Man, the author rarely generalizes. The facts are allowed to tell their own tale. He eschews Freudian cant and debunking tricks. Though "Gladstonized" to the extent of calling him "the foremost Englishman" of his century, Professor Hall admits that Gladstone had blind spots and was not always right.

The book is in the main a political biography. We see Gladstone on the platform and in Parliament, rarely in the council chamber, and almost never at home. The politician and the theologian rather obscure the statesman and the administrator. Professor Hall had finished his book before Mr. F. W. Hirst's *Gladstone as Financier and Economist* and Queen Victoria's *Letters,* third series, volume II., appeared. Use of the latter might have completed the picture of Gladstone's last years in office and in particular his relations with the queen, and Mr. Hirst deepens our knowledge of an aspect neglected by the biographers of Gladstone.

Even admirers of Gladstone may wish to qualify the statement that he was "the foremost Englishman of the nineteenth century", and students of his career may disagree with the explanations given for his change from

Toryism, and for his tactics in 1885–1886 (pp. 45, 231). Generally very accurate, Professor Hall is curiously unsafe on the matter of Gladstone's age at important milestones of his life (he was born on December 29, 1809, but see pp. 13, 33, 42, 245). Morley and Lord Gladstone disagree with the statement that Gladstone sympathized with Hartington, 1880–1885 (p. 226), the description of Gladstone's diary (p. 26) is open to challenge; consciousness of power rather than love for power (p. 223) may be the better clew to an understanding of Gladstone's actions in 1886 and later; recent investigations by Professor Dunham and Professor Bell tend to discredit the old beliefs that Cobden conceived the treaty with France, 1860, and that Palmerston, during the last fifteen years of his life, always opposed tampering with the franchise (pp. 77, 89). The reviewer finds it difficult to reconcile the assertion "His [Gladstone's] mind functioned slowly" with "No man could dive like him so rapidly into tangled and conflicting testimony . . . and emerge so soon, so triumphant" (pp. 20, 22).

But despite these criticisms, the reviewer feels that Professor Hall has produced a useful and valuable book—in many respects the most valuable of the one volume biographies of Gladstone.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

Fürst Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst: Denkwürdigkeiten der Reichskanzlerzeit. Herausgegeben von KARL ALEXANDER VON MÜLLER. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1931. Pp. ix, 637. 15 M.)

THIS is the third volume of Prince Hohenlohe's *Memoirs*. It covers the six years of his chancellorship and was edited at the request, and with the coöperation, of the prince's family by the well-known historian, Karl Alexander von Müller, of Munich. The first two volumes appeared in 1907, five years after the prince's death, and promptly brought down the imperial displeasure on the prince's son, who was responsible for their publication. The storm of royal disapproval was due not so much because of what they contained, but apparently because they were published without the Kaiser's consent having first been secured. Although less interesting and gossipy than the much discussed *Memoirs* of Prince von Bülow, Prince Hohenlohe's are far superior as historical source material. Bülow wrote mainly from memory years after the events, and with a definite, and often painful, *motif* of self-justification, not to say self-glorification. By contrast, Hohenlohe's *Memoirs* consist of letters and documents, judiciously interspersed with selected extracts from his diary or journal. They are not therefore memoirs in the usual sense.

Like Bismarck and Bülow, Hohenlohe was associated with the leading statesmen and rulers of Europe. Judged by his *Memoirs*, he enjoyed their confidence. He was a Bavarian and of princely family. For years he was

German ambassador in Paris. Already seventy-five years old when he became chancellor, he regarded his presence in Berlin in this high office, as a sort of symbol of German unity. In general, the *Memoirs* reflect a modest man with good judgment, satisfied to carry on, but without the constructive genius of the Iron Chancellor or the brilliance and the shortcomings of his successor, Von Bülow. Domestic affairs receive much more attention than do questions of foreign relations. Since the record of the prince's participation in foreign affairs is found in their larger setting in *G. P.*, and his speeches are published in the stenographic reports of the Reichstag, the principal value of the volume lies in the light it throws on domestic politics, especially on the actual workings of the government behind the scenes, and on the personal relations of the chancellor to the emperor and to others, like Eulenburg, Holstein, Marschall, Bülow, and Bismarck.

On such important matters as the First Hague Conference, the prince is peculiarly silent, though several of Münster's reports are quite informing. "No state", he writes on April 19, "can or wishes to disarm, least of all France and Germany." On May 8 he is equally emphatic about Russia, adding that "from now on the whole diplomatic game will focus upon the effort to lay the blame for the failure of the conference at the door of Germany and so alienate Russia . . .". Six weeks later he wrote: "We [the delegates] are all working zealously . . . on the colossal comedy which the czar has staged." The inception of the fateful Kruger telegram is laconically described in an entry of the journal as follows: "At ten o'clock, the Kaiser arrived with Hollmann, Knorr and Senden. Marschall was already present. The South African Question was discussed, Marschall suggesting a telegram to Kruger, which was accepted" (p. 151). The incident is also discussed in more detail by the prince's son, Alexander, who says Marschall wrote the telegram. In regard to the Kaiser, the record left by Hohenlohe is replete with evidence of the difficulties caused by the emperor's exuberant and rather neurotic nature, which led to constant and unexpected interference in the affairs of state. Like Bülow, he comments on the ruler's susceptibility to flattery. At times this led to serious disagreement. On such occasions, Hohenlohe acted with courage and self-reliance. "If the Emperor wants to be his own Chancellor, he must take a straw puppet. That, I will not be . . . ." After insisting that he would resign if the emperor persisted in his hostility to Wilmowski he wrote: "Who is to tell the Kaiser the truth if the Chancellor does not do so?" Although he often declined to follow Holstein's advice, the influence of "His Grey Eminence", especially in foreign affairs, is evident throughout. With the emperor's aggressive policy in China Hohenlohe was entirely out of sympathy. "Wir können in China Handelsgeschäfte treiben. Das genügt, alles andere ist meineserachtens vom Übel."

In the reprint of the English documents, a cryptic capital "J" is scattered over the page, which, on closer examination, is only a substitute for "I". The volume has an index of persons, is well edited, and furnishes valuable historical material of a character supplementary to the parliamentary and diplomatic documents.

The University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Série 2 (1901–1911), tome II., *1^er^ Janvier-31 Décembre, 1902.* Série 3 (1911–1914), tome II., *8 Février-10 Mai, 1912*; tome III., *11 Mai–30 Septembre, 1912.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1931. Pp. xxix, 726; xii, 473; xxxv, 601. 60 fr. each.)

THE chief event in the first of these three large volumes of valuable documents was the Franco-Italian exchange of notes on July 10, 1902 (pp. 390 ff.). It now appears that these notes were postdated to November 1 in the official *Yellow Book* of 1920, *Les Accords Franco-Italiens de 1900–1902* (pp. 7 f.). More than anyone else M. Barrère, the indefatigable French ambassador at Rome, may claim this diplomatic achievement as his own personal success. With the greatest energy, perseverance, and skill he kept after M. Prinetti and certain other Italian leaders until they were finally driven into signing the secret accord which Barrère later called "not a counter-treaty but a counterpart to the Triple Alliance, which it reduces to a small affair on the point which interests us most" (p. 697). In view of the expected renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1902, Barrère at first put every effort into forcing the Italians, when renewing the Triple Alliance, to modify the text by eliminating from it anything hostile to France. Failing in this and being assured that the text contained nothing directed against France, only, perhaps, the annexes [*i.e.*, the German-Italian military convention], he secured from Prinetti the written statement which assured him that "in case France shall be the object of a direct or indirect aggression on the part of one or several powers, Italy will maintain a strict neutrality . . . even in case France, as a result of a direct provocation, should find herself compelled to take, for the defense of her honor or her security, the initiative in a declaration of war" (p. 392). Barrère thereby achieved his main purpose of being "able to say to France that the point of the Italian sword is no longer directed, as in the past, at her heart " (p. 206). He made the most of his diplomatic triumph in the French and Italian press. Still there remained not a little uneasiness at the Quai d'Orsay as to the sincerity of Italy's assurances and the loyalty of several of her diplomats and ministers.

Very interesting is the Marquis de Noailles's retrospective account (pp. 294 ff.) of the beginnings of the earlier Franco-Italian animosity, which it was hoped was now finally ended in 1902. He says Italy's animosity did not begin with the French occupation of Tunis but with "the theft of Nice".

French money power, and consequently political power, is illustrated in her discussion of loans to Russia (pp. 242 ff.), to Roumania (pp. 114, 181 f.), to Serbia (pp. 262, 314 f., 487, 617, 623), to Korea (pp. 38, 67), and especially to Bulgaria (pp. 30 f., 200, 237 ff., 255 ff., 266, 277, 362), in which the proceeds were to be spent on munitions and equipment furnished by Russia; Russian influence was further strengthened by a Russo-Bulgarian military convention—which the Russians kept secret from their own French allies until 1913 (p. 334, n.).

There is almost nothing in this volume for 1902 which suggests the coming Anglo-French Entente of two years later. On the contrary, there was much friction between the two countries in Morocco; there were French suspicions growing out of the warm friendship between England and Italy; and the announcement of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance called forth a Franco-Russian counter-declaration as an assertion of the rights and influence of the Dual Alliance in the Far East.

The two volumes of a decade later, which approach 1914, are characterized by greater fullness and detail—over nine hundred documents filling nearly a thousand pages for the seven and a half months from the Haldane mission on February 8 to the mobilization of the Balkan States on September 30. A larger proportion of these documents, as compared with those of 1902, were already familiar to historians from the publications of Poincaré, Marchand, Siebert, the French *Yellow Book* on *Les Affaires Balkaniques,* and especially from Ernest Judet's *Georges Louis.* Judet, it will be remembered, published a large number of official telegrams and letters of his friend, Georges Louis, who, he charges, was "politically assassinated" by Poincaré and Paléologue to please Sazonov and Izvolski and to tighten the Triple Entente. A comparison of Judet's material with that in the present collection indicates that Judet's documents are authentic and carefully (though not chronologically) reproduced. To be sure, there are many dispatches exchanged between Poincaré and Georges Louis which now appear in this official collection and were not in Judet—and *vice versa;* but in neither case are they especially important as throwing new light on this unsavory episode. Judet had already told the essential truth.

Three main topics run through these two volumes. The first is the Turco-Italian War. This gave rise everywhere to great uneasiness, because of its wide-reaching ramifications and legal complications. There were long negotiations between the great powers as to possible intervention or mediation to put an end to it. When Poincaré heard that the czar was to meet

the Kaiser at Port Baltic, he was much alarmed at what Nicky and Willy might do. He feared Russia might take some rash step without the previous assent and approval of France. Unable to prevent the Port Baltic meeting without danger of offending Sazonov and his master, Poincaré finally strengthened Entente solidarity by persuading England and Russia to sign with France a secret accord that, "having the same views . . . they believed that an amicable intervention in the Turco-Italian War would have no chance of success unless its object was strictly limited to the precise terms of the dispute which had caused the conflict" (III. 172). He also tried very hard to induce Sazonov to include in the accord a declaration of disinterestedness on the part of the powers. This would have prevented Russia from trying to realize her ambitions of opening the Straits to Russian warships and from making other gains at Turkey's expense which might threaten the peace of Europe and involve France. But the slippery Sazonov evaded French arguments and kept his hands free.

The second topic is the Balkan League and the consequent menace of a threatening Balkan war. Aside from Izvolski's very brief and misleading reference to it on April 1 (II. 285), Poincaré's first considerable account of this new danger to Europe brought into existence by Russia's zealous cooperation, was in a remarkable dispatch from Panafieu, the French minister in Sofia, on April 3 (II. 297). But it was not until Poincaré's visit to Russia in August that he heard from Sazonov the precise wording of the Balkan League Treaty, and then fully realized the dynamite in it and the disloyalty of the Russians in keeping it secret from him for so many months. In this matter, as in many others, one sees that France had much to complain of from the secret ambitions and lack of sincerity and frankness on the part of her Russian ally.

The third main topic is the French effort to come to an understanding with Spain over Tangiers and the delimitation of their respective zones in Morocco. England used her good offices to promote an understanding. It was almost achieved in August, but was then postponed for a month on account of German objections and because of the aggressive actions of two Spanish consuls in Morocco who had to be recalled.

Besides these main topics, there is a wealth of information on the Franco-Russian and the Anglo-French naval agreements undertaken to strengthen the Triple Entente; on the everlasting Near East troubles in Albania, Crete, and Turkey; on German armaments, in excellent reports from the French military attaché in Berlin; on the balance of the alliances; on the consortium for a loan to China; and on a variety of other subjects which are clearly indicated in the admirable analytical table of contents prefixed to each volume.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Unknown War: the Eastern Front. By the Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. xv, 396. $5.00.)

To one acquainted with the literature of the subject *The Unknown War* will hardly seem an apt title for a volume on a war concerning which, as the author frankly admits, there exists "a whole library", and particularly for an account which is based upon printed materials, and which, however great its literary merits, adds little to what is already known.

It is, however, not for the authority in military history that Mr. Churchill writes, but for the general reader, and for such his narrative has all the value of a vivid picture of a struggle which, even while it was being waged, seemed somewhat remote, and the significance of which was only vaguely apprehended. Even now we are only beginning to perceive its tremendous importance and its profound influence upon events military and diplomatic. Again and again it was the pivot upon which the final issue might turn. At the very outset, the fate of France and with it the whole subsequent course of the war may well have been decided by an obscure battle in East Prussia. For the German check at Gumbinnen, August 20, upset the calculations of Moltke, and led to the detachment from the Western army of two corps that might have filled the gap at the Marne. It led also to the appointment of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, to Tannenberg, and the Masurian Lakes.

"Incomparably the greatest war in history", says the author; in scale, in slaughter, in the exertions of its combatants, in its military kaleidoscope; a Napoleonic war, "enlarged to hideous size"; a war in which gains and losses were measured by hundreds of miles, and casualties by hundreds of thousands; in which whole nations surged back and forth in gigantic waves of invasion or retreat; and withal the "most mournful conflict" of all times, in which "Central Europe tore itself to pieces and expired in agony".

One can well understand how such a theme took hold upon Mr. Churchill's imagination and what an opportunity it presented to his facile pen. His art was equal to the challenge. Seldom have his brilliant literary gifts been more effectively exploited, to produce a succession of tableaux so realistic that the spectator has a half-mysterious sense of standing face to face with the events themselves.

With equal clearness the figures of the great captains reappear: the rugged and massive Hindenburg; the "all-grasping, all-using, tireless and hazard-loving" Ludendorff; Falkenhayn, perhaps the ablest soldier that Germany produced; the Grand Duke, "whose knowledge of the military art was not surpassed in Europe"; Brusilov, "an officer of exceptional energy and comprehension"; Hoffman, "the mind behind most of the German plans on the Eastern front"; François, the real hero of Tannenberg, who

"defied Ludendorff and won a brilliant victory for him against his orders"; Conrad von Hötzendorff, tense, tenacious, inflexible, the victim of his own fixed ideas; Kitchener, "calm, Olympian, secretive, and imperfectly informed", swaying back and forth between the Easterners and the Westerners, "like a buoy in a tide-stream".

In how far these appraisals are just and accurate, it is for the expert, not for the layman, to judge; as also whether the accounts of battles and campaigns are scientifically exact, or whether the strictures upon the errors of the "Westerners" are justified. But, whatever exceptions may be taken to technical details, the total effect of the picture is one of reality.

One has the feeling, however, that it is not quite finished. The events of 1917 are barely sketched. The close is abrupt. To change the figure, the curtain falls with Austria and the Balkan actors still on the stage, and the audience is informed that the play is over by a simple *exit Russia.* As a conclusion the final chapter leaves much to be desired.

Brown University. THEODORE COLLIER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America. Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN, Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College. Volume II., *The Eighteenth Century.* [Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication no. 409.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1931. Pp. lxii, 731. $3.50.)

IN continuation of her series of representative documents bearing on the slave trade to America, Miss Donnan presents here a selection of items illustrating the traffic as a whole from 1700 to its legal abolition by Great Britain and the United States in 1807. The first volume covered the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in general (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI. 407–408). The third is to deal with the relations of the Thirteen Colonies to the trade. For the most part, the editor's task has been excellently done. The selection of material was difficult but the result offers little ground for criticism; the annotation is ample and most helpful; the extensive introduction furnishes a useful summary of the main trends and developments in the administration and regulation of the slave trade by the principal European nations during the period covered. But the volume, like its predecessor in the series, will not be easy to use. The documents are arranged chronologically and there is no adequate key to their individual subject matter. Especially in the cases of letters and memorials one seeks in vain for anything in headings or table of contents more descriptive than the names of authors and recipients. While the index is adequate for its

own purpose it can not easily be made to take the place of explanatory headings in the body of the collection. Something of the sort is needed to help the reader find his way through the rich materials that the volume offers.

The documents selected for inclusion relate almost entirely to British activities in the slave trade. Although nearly one-half of the introduction is devoted to the traffic of other countries, barely a dozen of the three hundred items which follow are drawn from non-British sources. Through the text are traced the vicissitudes of the English traders from the breakdown of the Royal African Company's monopoly to the triumph of Wilberforce and his associates. The conflict between the separate traders and the African Company over the management of the trade and the maintenance of the forts receives much attention. A large number of documents deal with the South Sea Company and its activities in connection with the Assiento. Scattered through the volume are many reports, letters, and accounts which illustrate the actual conduct of the slave trade upon the African coast. Long extracts appear from the familiar works of such men as John Atkins, William Snelgrave, and Francis Moore. Although many of these items have been previously printed the editor has been wise in reproducing their most significant parts, making them thereby more readily accessible to the majority of readers. The last part of the volume naturally devotes considerable space to the growing movement in England for the abolition of the slave trade. Here are to be found a gruesomely effective contemporary diagram showing how 450 slaves could be carried on a ship 100 feet in length, extracts from Thomas Clarkson's writings, and examples of the other controversial literature which finally led to the legislation of 1807.

The volume as a whole emphasizes the importance of the African slave trade in the eighteenth century and will be most useful to the economic and social historian. It illustrates, furthermore, the essential economic unity of the British colonial world. For this reason one may hope that the third volume will not be limited to the activities of the Thirteen Colonies only, but may include additional materials on the equally important colonies which did not become a part of the United States.

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

George Washington, Republican Aristocrat. By BERNARD FAŸ. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. xvi, 297. $4.00.)

George Washington. By LOUIS MARTIN SEARS, Professor of History in Purdue University. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1932. Pp. xiv, 560. $5.00.)

THESE two volumes supplement each other. M. Faÿ's is as typically Gallic as Mr. Sears's is characteristically American. Neither will give much

comfort to the muckrakers or the idolaters. Both help to a truer understanding of Washington, the man. While both authors have used a few sources not hitherto exploited, neither brings out much that is new, yet each in his own way sets the well-known facts of Washington's life in a better perspective than any biography that has previously fallen under this reviewer's eye. While the style of M. Faÿ's picture is perhaps more artistic, the breadth and accuracy of Mr. Sears's portrait are greater. Neither author devotes much space to Washington's boyhood. Both give extended treatment to his youth and young manhood—his "plastic age". Each book is well documented, each has a preface, a bibliographical note, and an index—that of Mr. Sears being the better in the last two respects. M. Faÿ's book is illustrated with five portraits and three maps, Mr. Sears's with one portrait and fourteen maps, ten of which pertain to the Revolution.

M. Faÿ justifies his characterization of Washington as a "Republican Aristocrat" by an incisive study of "feudalism in Virginia", in which he shows how like a medieval lord of the manor a Virginia planter lived in the eighteenth century. With such a background he concludes that necessarily "George Washington was an aristocrat, a feudal lord. His birth and upbringing inevitably made him such." After a short but adequate treatment of Washington's meager schooling, the author devotes a long and interesting chapter to Washington's frontier experiences, 1750–1760, with a just evaluation of their importance as a preparation for his life's great work. It is to be hoped that this book—especially this chapter—will be widely read in France, for M. Faÿ deals fully and with scrupulous fairness with the Jumonville episode. Perhaps one should say "the original" rather than "this book", for M. Faÿ wrote and published it in French, then prepared the American edition with the aid of English and American friends. A shorter chapter deals with Washington's love affairs, his work as a planter, and his political interests. A truly French antithesis, which would-be statesmen of to-day might ponder with profit, is the following: "He made his presence felt by being silent, and this in turn made him much talked about." Washington's difficulties during the Revolution receive very illuminating treatment. The author shows that only a great soul could have succeeded with such materials and against such obstacles. The concluding chapter embraces Washington's life from 1783 to the end. Though M. Faÿ rather hastens over the Convention of 1787 and the Presidency of Washington, he pauses long enough to treat Genêt's mission with fairness. He sums up Genêt thus: "He thought he would be a new Franklin. He was mistaken." M. Faÿ's final estimate of Washington is that he was "a great soldier, a great President, a great sage", who worked with all his energy to give his people a strong central government and "instructed them to love their country above everything else". Occasionally the reader fears that the author is

tending perilously near to hero worship, but he always manages to escape that pitfall of biographers.

While utilizing all the source and secondary material available, Mr. Sears depends chiefly upon Washington's own writings to reveal his subject's character. Again and again he lets Washington's deeds and words speak for themselves. To some readers it will be a surprise to find Washington characterized as a philosopher—yet it is indisputable that he pondered his problems and developed a keen insight into human nature and the trends of politics. Never does Mr. Sears lapse into hero worship, but his deep and well-justified admiration for Washington's character appears on every page. A careful study of the Revolution reveals him as a general of high ability, both as a strategist and as a tactician—although not a military genius. He was, moreover, a patriot-soldier who never forgot that the military arm is subordinate to the civil.

Equally felicitous is the study of Washington, the statesman, both as a member of the Constitutional Convention and as President. Another feature of the book is its revelation of Washington's human relationships—his capacity for friendship, the strength of his family affections, his intense love of farming, his ability as a business man. Mr. Sears finds that the "main thread of personality" in Washington was "that rarest of all traits, consistency. . . . There is even a species of harmony in the circumstance that a career in arms that opened in 1753 and closed in 1798–1799, began and ended in hostility to France." This reviewer feels that Mr. Sears has been singularly successful in portraying the real Washington, great and noble, with enough human weaknesses to make his fellowmen feel that he is not an unattainable ideal, but an inspiring exemplar.

Hamilton College. MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

The Deane Papers: Correspondence between Silas Deane, his Brothers, and their Business and Political Associates, 1771–1795. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, volume XXIII.] (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society. 1930. Pp. xiv, 277. $3.00.)

THE largest printed accumulations of Deane papers are those to be found in volumes XIX. to XXIII. of the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (1886–1889) and—a smaller series—in the latter half of volume II. of the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society (1870). Scattered letters, instructions, and memorials are printed here and there, chiefly among official texts of one kind or another, and doubtless occasional documents will continue to turn up, as in the case of a Deane-Carmichael instruction of considerable interest, which has lately been printed in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for March, 1931. Supplemental to all this material is the content of the work here under review—a mis-

cellany of texts issued by the Connecticut Historical Society, as the twenty-third volume of its *Collections,* constituting a kind of last gleaning of the papers in its possession. Of the 174 letters, etc., in this volume nineteen are from Deane, eighty-nine are to him, and the remainder are from one member or another of his family, writing each to the other, or from business and political associates writing among themselves concerning matters in which Deane was interested or with which he was concerned by virtue of his mission. Nearly all the letters are of a mercantile, financial, or commercial nature, though the family correspondence deals frequently with intimate happenings and opinions, and some of the others embody comments on the men and affairs of the time.

Among the various items worthy of note are Deane's own remark in 1779 on the supersession of his archenemy, Arthur Lee, whereby "the whole of the Family are disposed of, though the Mischief they have done us is in some instances irreparable, yet their Dismission is a favorable Event and gives almost universal Joy"; Simeon Deane's hope in 1780 that Silas's "enemies will soon be properly exposed and despised"; Barnabas Deane's sentiments, repeatedly echoed by others among the writers, regarding the wretched and bankrupt condition of the United States in 1783; and Edward Langworthy's statement of the difficulties he met with in doing "anything but just pick out a livelihood". Somewhat contradictory but equally interesting is J. Sebor's opinion expressed in 1784 that "all ranks in America are much more extravagant in their dress and living than before the war and never less able to support it". The letters of William Bingham, agent at St. Pierre in Martinique and afterward senator from Pennsylvania, whose daughter married Lord Ashburton, are quite different in tone, written as they were at the beginning of the war, when "liberty" and "the despotic exercise of an arbitrary authority" were the keynotes of public and private speech. Bingham was readier "to die the last of Freemen than bear to live the first of Slaves", and his letters in general resound to the trumpet call of Freedom.

A considerable amount of information is furnished regarding Deane's life in England; his intercourse with Lord Sheffield, who was issuing his *Observations* at the time and voicing vigorously his defense of the navigation acts; and his project for a canal from Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence. He was living, we are told, near Hyde Park Corner, at that time "in the lowest part of Westminster", and even in his poverty and distress still clung to his gold snuffbox, studded with diamonds, relic of his days of affluence, which after his death was disposed of at forced sale for £126, a price much below its worth. Whether this piece of *bijouterie* was originally purchased by him for his own personal gratification or presented to him by one of the great ones in France the record does not say.

Yale University. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. Edited by HUNTER MILLER. Volume I. [Short Print], *Plan of the Edition, Lists, and Tables;* volume II., *Documents 1–40: 1776–1818.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. x, 201; xxix, 662. $1.25; $4.00.)

THE office of the Historical Adviser of the Department of State in 1928 began the preparation of a definitive and accurate edition of treaties and other international acts of the United States. The documents in volume II. are published in chronological order, with serial numbers. If this arrangement is in some degree less convenient for consultation to one who does not recall the dates of the various acts, it has the obvious advantage of being ready to be carried forward through the decades as long as the nation endures. We may regard this solid Miller edition, therefore, as a scholarly foundation on which much may stand later; it is to be carried by the present editor to December 31, 1930. It includes ratified treaties, executive agreements, and proclamations relating to them. These documents are reproduced carefully from the authentic originals and in the language or languages in which they were signed, preserving all irregularities. Such requirements have never been followed faithfully before, as anyone can testify who has compared a printed treaty with an original instrument. Though in most cases former deviations have concerned principally punctuation, capitalization, and spelling (even these infidelities may be responsible for serious questions) the Miller edition occasionally reveals more surprising lapses in previous prints. For example, the Arabic text of the treaty with Tripoli of 1796–1797, accompanied by a modern translation, shows no basis for the historically accepted, widely cited, but grossly mistranslated article XI. of the contemporary Barlow translation: "The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." This contemporary translation, nevertheless, is the one always followed in our relations with that now defunct state; although, curiously enough, the Department had all the while an Italian translation which was reasonably correct.

Volume II. of the series closes with the treaty of October 20, 1818, for the regulation of boundaries, fisheries, and commerce with Great Britain. Volume I. in the complete edition will contain relevant lists and tables (including a list of the treaties, and allied documents, arranged by countries, and a bibliography of treaty collections of the United States). A "short-print" preliminary paper-bound volume appears at this time, containing a provisional set-up of such matter, with a detailed explanation of the plan of the edition. This will be superseded eventually by a definitive volume; but such a volume can not be carried ahead as the documentary volumes can, in future years. Notes of a textual or procedural character follow the

printed documents. Later on, separate volumes are promised, supplementary to the documentary series and containing historical notes.

Jurists, legislators, diplomatists, and teachers will all appreciate so dignified and meritorious a publication. It is one more example of the studious and practical work being done in the Department of State by a group of highly trained scholars.

George Washington University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

John Jacob Astor, Business Man. By KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER, Research Assistant in Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, George F. Baker Foundation, Harvard University. Two volumes. [Harvard Studies in Business History, edited by N. S. B. Gras, no. 1.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. xxvii, 585; xiii, 589–1353. $10.00.)

THIS work in two substantial volumes is the first of a series which is to appear under the general editorship of Professor N. S. B. Gras and which will deal with the history of private business enterprise as carried on both by individuals and by business firms. It is apparent, therefore, that it can scarcely be evaluated with reference to the standards which are accepted in the case of biographies of the more conventional sort. Both the general editor and the author have clearly indicated that the purpose underlying this study of John Jacob Astor is to present the facts of his career in as authoritative a manner as possible. Mr. Porter says that he believes "it is fair to say that no attempt has hitherto been made to write a complete biography of Astor with authenticity as the chief consideration, utilizing for that purpose only the prime sources whenever possible, and giving a definite authority or authorities for every significant statement" (p. 1301). The present work, he continues, represents an attempt to conform to these conditions.

The text itself and the citations of authorities bear witness to the author's zeal and success in attaining this self-imposed ideal. It seems almost inconceivable that any future student working in this field will be able to unearth much in the way of original material which Mr. Porter has missed. Business correspondence and accounts, cargo manifests, customs records, newspaper advertisements, legal documents, and numberless other varieties of material, scattered in repositories far and wide, have been searched with the most painstaking care.

The method of treatment is primarily topical, and while the personal side of Astor's life is by no means neglected, it has naturally been subordinated to his business career. And what a career it was! Covering a span of sixty-four years, from his arrival in America in 1784 until his death in 1848, it involved participation in the fur trade on a vast scale, commerce with

Europe and the Orient, operations in real estate, and many other more or less closely related business activities. The real basis of Astor's remarkably successful career was the fur trade, and many readers will probably be most interested in the story of his connection with the American Fur Company from its incorporation in 1808 until his withdrawal in 1834. A few of the many important and interesting subjects dealt with in the book are the methods used in the fur trade, the reactions of Astor to the Embargo and the War of 1812, business ethics of the early nineteenth century, and the romantic history of the Astoria enterprise. Mr. Porter displays an unusually keen critical sense in his analysis of evidence and in drawing conclusions therefrom. Future students will be grateful for the many original documents reprinted in both volumes.

Admirable as the book is in so many respects, it seems a little disappointing in others. One fears lest the mass of detail with which many of the pages are loaded will repel all but the specialist, himself engaged in original work in this field. But perhaps it is only for such persons that these pages are intended. In many scattered passages Mr. Porter has shown that he has a capacity for really brilliant interpretation. One wishes that he had sacrificed, if necessary, a certain amount of detail in order to devote more space to such interpretation and generalization. It is probable, moreover, that the general economic background against which Astor's own activities must be projected will be but dimly perceived by the average reader. One would like to have, for instance, a brief description of the general nature and extent of the fur trade of North America, at the time when Astor was coming to be a power therein. The materials for such a summary are readily accessible. Similar backgrounds might be sketched in when dealing with Astor's trade with the Orient and his speculations in real estate. In other words, his activities seem somewhat isolated from the general economic life of the period. Probably these suggestions merely imply, however, that the technique of writing institutional or social history has not yet been perfected!

There is an admirable bibliographical note at the end of the second volume, but no formal, complete bibliography appears. One must search for detailed information of this sort through the several hundred notes accompanying the various chapters. Notwithstanding the reasons given by the author for the procedure followed (p. 1301), one feels inclined to regret this solution of the problem. On page xx the editor remarks: "The next student to deal with the subject can begin where Mr. Porter has left off." But unless his method of approach corresponds pretty closely with that of the author, the student may find this absence of a bibliography of the conventional sort rather inconvenient.

After all, however, the book may be judged most fairly with reference

to the criteria of the author, referred to at the beginning. One feels every confidence that the essential facts have been assembled and that they have been fully and accurately presented, though much remains to be done in the way of interpretation and generalization, a fact which is apparently recognized both by author and editor.

Dartmouth College. WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills. By ROY FRANKLIN NICHOLS, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. xvii, 615. $5.00.)

IT is unfortunate that the author did not have a better subject on which to lavish his ability as an historical investigator and his talent as a stylist. This story of the life of Franklin Pierce, presented accurately and fairly, without distortions and false coloring, is a sad commentary on politics and statesmanship at low ebb in the United States. With the best of opportunities, advantages, and connections at all stages of his career, Pierce seems always to have lacked the capacity to strike fire. In a small freshwater pond Pierce was an impressive frog; but in the salty sea of national affairs he was out of his element and beyond his depth. Too rarely is he able to show a depth of thought on a major issue that should be characteristic of a man called to assume major responsibilities in our national councils. Even at what the author labels the zenith of Pierce's career, it is painfully clear that no distinguished height was reached. The climax of his career seems to be of importance only in state politics, with perhaps some minor national implications.

The reader frequently feels that the author, in his attempt to do justice to his subject, has given the impression of significance and consequence to insignificant and inconsequential matters, and thus keeps the reader continually expecting climaxes that do not materialize. And yet, upon analysis, the reader finds that the author has not misrepresented the subject whose shortcomings, inadequacies, and commonplace character are clearly portrayed. The whole story shows the most glaring weaknesses of our system of party government. That these weaknesses are not glossed over, but are presented so vividly that he who runs may read, is to the credit of the author. So dull and uninspiring is the subject that without the author's sprightliness of style the book would be as heavy in reading as it is in hand.

The Kansas-Nebraska story—perhaps the most important one in the volume—is admirably presented. This story, as well as the treatment of some other subjects, could be read with even greater interest if the author did not cling so rigidly to a chronological presentation which necessitates breaking a subject unit into scattered bits. However, since the exigencies of

the position forced the President to shift his attention continually from one problem to another, the author's presentation reflects the sequence of events as actually faced. At several points the author presents a painstaking analysis of nearly every phase of the operations of the Federal government; and all through the volume there is a wealth of detail on the daily life of the time. This social history and local color make the story more vivid and realistic.

The organization of the book is distracting. With fourteen main divisions, each with a title sheet and with seventy-six chapters averaging less than seven pages each, the book seems to be chopped up in a fashion that interferes with the continuity of interest, and the reader resents the turning of so many blank pages. Some of the chapters might well have been reduced to paragraphs. The size and weight of the book are commensurate with the amount of painstaking work of the author, but are out of proportion to the value to the reader.

The University of Chicago. C. S. Boucher.

Southern Editorials on Secession. Edited by Dwight Lowell Dumond, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Michigan. [Publications of the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. xxxiii, 529. $4.00.)

The Secession Movement, 1860–1861. By Dwight Lowell Dumond. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. vi, 294. $2.50.)

These two books afford a good opportunity to increase one's knowledge in regard to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Southern Editorials on Secession is a most appropriate initial volume for the Beveridge Fund Publications. It would certainly have delighted Senator Beveridge. From it the reader can gain a vivid impression of the ideas and emotions which filled the minds and hearts of Southerners during the momentous days immediately before the Civil War began. It consists of 183 editorials taken from the newspapers of the slave states in the period between January 6, 1860, and May 9, 1861. A little more than a third of them appeared before the election of 1860 and relate in one way or another to that event. The remainder cover many phases of the highly complex and rapidly changing situation which the election of Lincoln precipitated. In general the editorial work has been admirably done. The editor is entitled to strong commendation for giving all of the articles in full. Many recent document books have suffered from too much editorial elision. The difficult task of selection has been well handled. Every section of the South and almost every important phase of opinion finds some expression, yet to the reviewer it seems that New Orleans is overrepresented. The newspapers of that city were decidedly above the general level, but they did not wield an

influence wide enough to warrant alloting them sixty-six out of 183 places. It is also regrettable that no selections were made from weekly newspapers located in the small towns. Such papers exerted a potent influence in the South of 1860–1861.

Will the reading of these editorials produce to-day anything in the way of a uniform impression about the South of 1860–1861? It would perhaps be hazardous to reply in the affirmative. But it seems safe to believe that if any such impression is produced it will be one of surprise at the diversity of opinion prevailing in the South on the eve of the Civil War. The South was a unit in believing that the election of Lincoln portended an invasion of Southern rights and that there must be firm resistance. But there was remarkable diversity of opinion as to the manner in which those rights should be defended. The editorials here reproduced exhibit this diversity in striking fashion. They do not serve so well to show how and why diversity gave place to unity during the course of the crisis. It would take another and larger group to show that aspect.

The Secession Movement, 1860–1861, is a short monograph upon a big subject. It deals both with the election of 1860 and the crisis which followed that event. It does not attempt a narrative of what happened, but is concerned mainly with analysis and explanation in regard to certain matters of capital importance for the period. A great deal of attention is given to the Charleston and Baltimore conventions and to the activities of the commissioners sent by the seceding states to the other Southern states which had not yet seceded. The most distinctive and most valuable feature of the book, in the opinion of the reviewer, is to be found in its delineation of the positions assumed at various times by important Southern groups. The passage on pages 121–132, dealing with the coöperationists, is a striking example. It puts into small compass the essence of a large amount of material not easily mastered.

It is probably quite impossible and perhaps not really desirable that a book of this description should abstain entirely from expressing the personal sympathies of its author. To the reviewer it seems manifest that he has pronounced sympathy with the standpoint of the Breckinridge Democrats and that it has colored his interpretation to a considerable degree. His point of view appears to be that, as the South was determined to defend its institutions against the danger which would come with the election of Lincoln, the logical and proper course was that taken by the Breckinridge Democrats. The author also exhibits a decided antipathy to Douglas. The book suffers considerably from the focusing of attention almost entirely upon the South.

Dartmouth College. FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

James A. Garfield, Party Chieftain. By ROBERT GRANVILLE CALDWELL. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1931. Pp. xi, 383. $5.00.)

AFTER the heavy spade work has been done in preparing a statesman's biography from the sources there is a place for a shorter work which shall make the results generally accessible and exercise free discretion in the omission of matters of minor importance. This task has been accomplished by Professor Caldwell in his *James A. Garfield,* which is largely based on the writer's *Life and Letters of Garfield* but covers in 362 moderate sized pages what the earlier work did in four times the space. The method he has chosen is to make a condensed narrative, following closely the treatment of the larger book, but pausing whenever he comes to some point that seems to call for critical investigation and checking up the evidence from the Garfield Papers and other material. In taking this wise precaution against following what he evidently regards as a somewhat overfavorable interpretation of Garfield's career, he comes to entirely independent conclusions and furnishes a useful contrast to the other volumes. To the writer, however, he seems to take an oddly external view of the man's actions. Take for instance the curious fact, responsible for nearly every one of Garfield's difficulties, that from early manhood to the end of his career he never voluntarily defended himself in public when attacked. To anyone who has followed through Garfield's letters and diaries from childhood this is seen to be due to a psychological habit, a mixture of pride and sensitiveness which paralyzed his will. To most of his friends it appeared as a weakness. On several such occasions we have abundant evidence as to what Garfield really was thinking and feeling behind his silence, and this was chiefly grief and a sense of injustice. Professor Caldwell, however, makes no use of this peculiar characteristic but appears to consider his silences in the light of a device to conceal something possibly discreditable, or, at all events, compromising; and he makes surmises which reflect on Garfield's veracity, much as contemporary observers did. On the other hand, he sometimes takes a more favorable view than the writer's, as for instance in regard to the Robertson affair. But he takes up each case independently, with no particular concern as to the underlying psychological unity of the man's career. As a result the book suggests at times the semi-hostile or unfriendly attitude toward the subject of the biography that is fashionable to-day, yet the general tone is appreciative. Of course, this is valuable as a check on the other attitude. The most interesting and vigorous parts of the book are those where Professor Caldwell develops his own conclusions, which suggest a regret that he did not cut entirely loose from the existing biographical material and handle the subject in his own way. It has always seemed to the reviewer that the career of Garfield offered an excellent opportunity to

study a man of idealism and scholarship subjected to the pressure, economic and social, of the post-war years. Such a book has yet to be written.

Williams College. THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Henry Charles Lea: a Biography. By EDWARD SCULLEY BRADLEY, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1931. Pp. 391. $5.00.)

THIS is a modest biography of the great Philadelphian. Its author, a scholar too young to have known Mr. Lea in person and not himself a student of history, does not attempt to estimate afresh his worth as man or as historian. Content to accept the verdicts of contemporaries, he sketches for us with loving care the incidents and the setting of his life. It is for its use of the papers of Mr. Lea and of his family, for its well-informed account of his ancestry, his home, his education, his business career, his social environment, his services to his city, his party, his country, that its worth will be lasting. Well is it that all these have been so fully and so conscientiously recorded while it was yet possible.

It was a quiet and a singularly unvarying life, though of such energy and courage. Neither his father's Quaker ancestry, running back to English country gentlemen, nor his mother's Irish stock, though Mr. Bradley has reasons for suspecting a kinship with the family of Lord Falkland, gave earnest of such a scion; but it was a strange and happy fortune that wedded a Quaker man of science like Isaac Lea to a daughter of the Irish journalist and bookseller Matthew Carey—Catholic, fiery, fertile of pen, founder of what was soon the foremost publishing house in the country. But Isaac Lea was a Quaker "out of meeting", and it was not the publishing house, as is often assumed, so much as the scientific insight that early discerned the worth of Pennsylvania coal lands, which brought the family its wealth. Henry C. Lea found it already a tradition of the house that its heads should be scholars as well as men of business, and from boyhood he was a writer; but for long it looked as if his pen, despite excursions into verse and literary criticism, would, like his father's and his brother's, find in natural science its chosen sphere. A breakdown caused by overwork brought him, however, in his thirties, a chance to indulge his native interest in history, and his scientific training must have made him keen to its lacks.

He saw how historians had neglected the use of legal sources for the history of civilization, and with vigor and thoroughness he made that task his own. His studies on wager of law and wager of battle, the ordeal and the torture, which in 1859 began to appear as book reviews, but in 1866 were gathered into a volume, betray no prentice hand; and their collective title, *Superstition and Force,* foreshadows all his work as an historian. But

already by 1861 he had discovered that the key to medieval law and life lies in the institutions of the Church. In a new edition of Milman he found a text for a brilliant essay on the rise of the papacy's temporal power, and in laying down his pen he pointed out the further topics he would like to study. To these were devoted all his later books—his *Studies in Church History,* his *Sacerdotal Celibacy,* his *History of Confession and Indulgences,* his great works on the medieval and the Spanish Inquisition, with the minor volumes and articles which were their overflow. To all these, one by one, Mr. Bradley gives intelligent analysis; but, like Mr. Lea himself, he indulges in no controversy, though from Professor Cheyney he quotes a few lines on Catholic critics and adds a word as to their inconsistencies. But he takes too seriously the Jesuit Blötzer and Monsignor Baumgarten. The former, who reviewed Mr. Lea's *Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* borrows nearly all but his ill will from the abler—and more searching, albeit so friendly—review of Lord Acton, who in the *English Historical Review* devoted to the work fifteen keen pages, yet counted it "the most important contribution of the new world to the religious history of the old". As for Herr Baumgarten, all his life a fighting-cock (his the phrase) for Catholic claims and always violent of pen, his booklet on the works of Mr. Lea shows him to know so little of their author as to think him a rich "merchant" with a vast slip-catalogue and an army of secretaries, and so little of English as to understand by "attendance at the Sabbat" (*i.e.,* of course, at the witch-sabbath) "Heiligung des Sonntages"; and it is all hopelessly marred by misunderstanding and partisan exaggeration. But there was reason for Catholic scholars to rally to the defense; and among them Mr. Lea has found, and still finds, foemen worthy of his steel. Few even of these, however they deplore his hostility or dissent from his conclusions, have failed to recognize the breadth, the honesty, and the power of his scholarship; and some have been so free of mind as to discern how the un-Catholic approach which gives them pain is what has forced into the light of scholarly research themes shunned too long by Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

But for such an assessment Mr. Bradley's book is not the text. What it teaches us of Mr. Lea is that the historian in him was never at the cost of the man or of the citizen. Till old age his mornings had all to be given to business. No national or local crisis called for his help in vain. Every public emergency brought from him a letter to the press. To the anti-slavery conflict, to the Northern cause throughout the Civil War, to civil service reform, his contributions were precious and incessant. Some of his best historical studies were inspired by public issues and found their audience through the magazines. Book reviews he had always in hand, and he made them a means of public education. Mr. Bradley's bibliography of his writings, though confessedly incomplete, fills seventeen pages of close-

printed titles. This wealth of production meant, of course, a rigorous routine and much seclusion; but Mr. Lea was no hermit, and to his city, his neighbors, he was not known only by his pen. His was a life of human interest as well as of untiring service, and Mr. Bradley has told its story with loyalty and charm.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

John G. Carlisle, Financial Statesman. By JAMES A. BARNES. [American Political Leaders, edited by Allan Nevins.] (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1931. Pp. xiii, 552. $5.00.)

As one puts down this book perhaps the first thought which comes to mind is one which has been recurring throughout the perusal: here is history, well-written and illuminating history, but biography in the ordinary sense of the word seems strangely lacking. And yet, perhaps, not so strangely after all. The author, be he biographer or historian, is limited by his materials, and the materials for the historical setting are far more abundant than those which throw light on John G. Carlisle the man. Carlisle, indeed, was singularly inconsiderate as regards his future biographer, for he left almost no literary remains; his "papers" are virtually nonexistent except for those of a public nature—speeches in Congress, reports as Secretary of the Treasury, and the like.

Despite the paucity of Carlisle material, the slip-cover "blurb" does not exaggerate when it announces that "the book embodies a wealth of new material on American political and financial history". The author has not only made intelligent use of such printed matter as is available to all; he has exploited such rich collections as the W. C. P. Breckenridge MSS., the Grover Cleveland Papers, a veritable storehouse of political material, and the William E. Curtis MSS. from which have been drawn some of the most illuminating bits to set forth the events of the four years of Carlisle's secretaryship. Beyond these major collections of papers, recourse was had to a formidable list of manuscripts such as the Gresham, Hamlin, Jordan, Lamont, Morrison, Morrill, and Olney papers, to mention but a few which are listed in the impressive bibliography and from which frequent citations are made in the text.

The first two hundred pages of the volume deal with Carlisle in his early years, and the scantiness of the sources is evidenced when one notes that two chapters comprising twenty-eight pages suffice to carry him down through the Civil War and Reconstruction to his appearance in Congress in 1877. From this date to 1893 Carlisle's life was bound up in his work, first in the House as member and as Speaker, then, for a brief period as senator. Whether in the House or the Senate, it was the tariff issue which, above all things, engaged Carlisle's interest and study. As an ordinary

congressman and especially as Speaker "he was the driving force behind the tariff-reform efforts of the Democrats". "During his six years in the Chair only one of his decisions was ever questioned, and then but one vote was cast in opposition. No one ever accused him of doing an unfair thing, although his political associates often felt that he leaned backward in his desire to be impartial."

Nearly one-half of the book (pp. 201–424) deals with the four years that Carlisle was Secretary of the Treasury during Cleveland's second administration. This is without doubt the most valuable portion of the work for it gives a careful history of the financial troubles of those disastrous years with a wealth of detail not previously brought out in a single study. A complicated story at best, it is here outlined with clarity and precision, founded on the mass of unpublished as well as published material which the author has sifted. Here is a vivid picture of the struggle waged by Cleveland and Carlisle, ably supported by Olney and Lamont in the Cabinet and a small group of subordinates in the Treasury Department, to maintain, with the aid of New York banking interests, the gold standard against the assaults of silverites both Democratic and Republican, a struggle in which Carlisle as well as Cleveland lost the confidence and even the respect of the mass of the Democratic party. In these two hundred-odd pages what little biography there is seems dragged in by the heels; Carlisle, in fact, figures as one of many actors in the drama, a leading actor, indeed, but no more so than he would have been had the story been labeled "A History of the Maintenance of the Gold Standard".

The final hundred pages of the book deal with The Silver Heresy and the Democratic Schism, 1893–1897, the campaign of 1896, and, very briefly, with Carlisle's last years when he returned to the practice of law and eschewed politics.

The author's estimate of Carlisle as a man of intellectual ability, political astuteness, and impeccable probity in public affairs is amply borne out by the testimony he adduces. There is, perhaps, a little straining now and then to emphasize a preëminent sagacity which no man can consistently display. In his absorption in the money question, moreover, one has a feeling that other factors which should be taken into account have been slighted by the author; there were, for example, other than monetary bases of the panic of 1893. Here and there is a minor slip which the most meticulous historian is prone to make, but they are few and not significant. Taken in its entirety the book is a solid contribution to the history of the period between 1877 and 1900, written in a smooth and interesting style which has both clarity and vigor.

The University of Minnesota. L. B. Shippee.

Thomas Woodrow Wilson: sein Leben und sein Wirken. Von Richard Kötzschke. (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess Verlag. 1931. Pp. xi, 274. 7.50 M.)

This is, I believe, the first serious German study of Woodrow Wilson and one may say at once that the author endeavors to be just and also, within the limits of his narrow space, exhaustive. The story and the significance of Wilson's leadership at Princeton are accurately assessed. The intricacies of American college and university life are fully appreciated. While Dr. Kötzschke understands the social and educational difficulties under which any forward-looking leader in the United States must labor, he ignores the problem of race *blocs* in the great cities, apparently unaware how much that meant to Wilson.

When the author comes to the question of American foreign relations, he is less certain, not of the facts, but of their significance. The sinking of the *Lusitania* does not mean any violation of international law. When Representative McLemore, in March, 1916, supported by Senators Gore and Stone, urged the passage of a resolution warning all Americans not to patronize ships that carried munitions, the President, according to the author, forgot his love for mankind, gave voice to his opposition to Germany, and perhaps played politics to win the next election. It was Wilson who defeated the measure for which the then very active German ambassador spent diplomatic money most lavishly. Dr. Kötzschke omits entirely the significance of the proposed American violation of accepted international law in the midst of a great war and of changing it in such a way as to commit the greatest of neutral powers to the cause of the party then most hostile to all the professions of Wilson's political career. He leaves the German reader, like most readers unfamiliar with both sides of the question, to think that Wilson of his own stern purpose overrode the will of a majority of both houses of Congress: "Seine Worte von Recht und Ehre waren hier sehr unangebracht."

In spite of this early condemnation of his subject, the writer goes on with his task and in reasonable, if biased, narrative tells the story of the election of 1916, the fateful entrance of the United States into the World War, and the terrible wrongs of the Peace of Versailles. The true import of the House mission to Berlin in the spring of 1916, that is, the Wilson appeal (imitating Lincoln's message to Congress in 1863) for a peace without victory, is not explained. We are informed that the German people would never for a moment have permitted any government to abandon Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine, basic conditions of the House proposition; and the reader is promptly informed that the arrangement of 1916 with Poland was proof of the German acceptance of Wilson's idea of self-determination of peoples. If that was the view and the feeling of the

German masses then, and is the sober conviction of German historians today, the Wilson defeat at Paris was but natural and logical; a dictated peace was necessary.

The remainder of the book presents the leading facts of the American election of 1918, the appearance of Wilson in Europe, and the domineering rôle of Clemenceau at Paris. The author tells this part of the story in sorrow and in phrases that tend to put the blame for the ills of post-war Germany upon Wilson rather than upon German refusal to negotiate in 1916, upon the American politicians, or upon the majority of the House of Commons in London or of the Chamber of Deputies in France. There is nowhere any condemnation of the acts of the imperial régime, nor any keen appreciation of the difficulties involved in the American and Allied positions. Dr. Kötzschke fails to recognize that the masses of all peoples after a great war lose whatever of kindliness and fellow feeling they may generally entertain in calmer eras. He describes Germany's treaty with the Bolshevik leaders in early 1918 as quite fair and not untrue to the Wilson notion of international relations!

The value of this little volume consists in the fact that its author in most of his chapters adheres closely to the facts and seeks to give the German public that much of the American picture. Its weakness lies in the limitation that he was too much of a nationalist to interpret the greater facts of Wilson's career, or he was convinced that such an interpretation would be wholly unwelcome in Germany. However, if Americans can not tell the truth about their Civil War, how may they condemn German and French historians for shaking their fists at each other across the Rhine?

The University of Chicago. WILLIAM E. DODD.

Leonard Wood: a Biography. By HERMANN HAGEDORN. In two volumes. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. xii, 436; viii, 524. $10.00.)

IN two respects this is an admirable biography. It is very well written and it is based on thorough research. The author has drawn a series of word pictures which leave a more vivid impression than his fifty-odd photographs. He quotes freely from Wood's diary and, in addition to using the obvious printed sources, he has consulted many of the men most intimately associated with Wood in his varied activities. On a third count, however, the work may be criticized adversely. It seems, on the whole, too partial to Wood. He was a controversial figure and the case against him does not seem to have been given adequate attention. The opposition to him is too often impatiently dismissed and in discussing some men, including Wilson, a strong animus is evident.

The biography is of greatest value for the light which it throws on the

development of our colonial empire. After fighting at Santiago Wood served in turn as military governor of that province, military governor of Cuba, governor of the Moro province, and then military commander in the Philippines, and finally, in the last six years of his life, as governor-general of the Philippines. He probably ranks as our greatest colonial administrator. He burst into fame almost overnight with his Cuban achievements at Santiago and Havana. Faced with the inheritance of four centuries of dirt and corruption from the Spanish régime, he cleaned up the island in more ways than one. His coöperation with Walter Reed in the fight against yellow fever, his fight against predatory American interests, and his tireless, firm, and usually tactful efforts to develop political consciousness among the Cubans are all well described. If one were to plot a graph of Wood's career, the peak would probably come on May 20, 1902, when he turned over to President Palma the government of the island. His early experiences in the Philippines, picturesque as they were, were something of an anticlimax after the plenary power at Havana. When he returned to Manila as governor-general in 1921, his policy was quite different from that at Havana where he had been trying to prepare the Cubans for self-government as rapidly as possible. Wood felt forced to retard the movement for Philippine independence which had gained such headway under Harrison's mild régime. He was, on the whole, primarily interested in establishing security, prosperity, and sanitation as tangible evidences of American civilization and was inclined to regard the *politicos* both of Cuba and the Philippines as children who must be kept in hand.

Much of Wood's career is explained by the mixture of political and military influences. "He was enough of a politician to put the politicians on their guard, but not enough to beat them at their own game", writes Hagedorn. At the same time, the army, while recognizing his ability, considered him a "pet", first of Miles, then of McKinley, and finally of Roosevelt and Root. They never forgot that in three years he was jumped from captain in the *medical corps* to brigadier general of regulars. Even Pershing was a cavalry captain before his jump to brigadier. Had Hughes been elected in 1916, Wood might well have been commander of the A. E. F. and would doubtless have been as good as Pershing. As it was, the very political considerations which facilitated his earlier rise operated against him in 1917 and 1918. The actual responsibility for keeping him on this side of the Atlantic in positions involving needless humiliation seems to be divided between Wilson, Baker, and Pershing, but Mr. Hagedorn does not bring out clearly enough that Wood's past record of "insubordination" seems a fair reason for not jeopardizing the unity of action overseas. This "martyrdom" made Wood the man of the hour in 1920 and the heartbreaking failure to get the Republican nomination is treated in detail. Wood did not even receive the position of Secretary of War which

Harding had led him to expect. Altogether, the second volume, beginning with 1902, deals with a constant series of disappointments after the rapid rise up to that time. Wood's chief constructive work in the latter period was his campaign for preparedness. In success and in adversity Wood stands out as a strong, level-headed, and attractive man, thoroughly worthy of so good a biography.

Princeton University. ROBERT G. ALBION.

Memories of the World War, 1917–1918. By ROBERT ALEXANDER, Major-General, U. S. Army, retired. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 309. $4.00.)

America's Siberian Adventure, 1918–1920. By WILLIAM S. GRAVES, Major-General, U. S. Army, retired. (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1931. Pp. xxiii, 363. $3.50.)

THESE two books are of rather unequal importance as contributions to history. Most of General Alexander's account is concerned with his command of the 77th Division during the Meuse-Argonne battle and deals minutely with the operations of that unit. General Graves's story has a much broader sweep: it is an analysis of the policy of the United States and the other Allied nations in Siberia as seen by the commander of the American forces there.

It is unfortunate that the least valuable part of General Alexander's narrative comes first. The reader grows rather wearied with the constantly reiterated criticism of the tactical teaching of the French and English which fills the initial chapters. Whatever the merits of this particular controversy, the author brings to it more heat than light.

But the account of the Meuse-Argonne battle has material of value. It was written soon after the war and receives a certain sharpening of focus from that fact. General Alexander has been frank to an unusual degree in speaking about his subordinates and calling precise attention to faults usually glossed over with a polite hint. Most of the story will, of course, be of little interest to the general reader, for it treats in minute fashion of the problems confronting the 77th Division as it fought its way through the Argonne Forest. It is an account for those who have some special interest in this operation, although it is to be feared that even such persons may have some difficulty in following it unless they possess maps of their own, for those in the book are hopelessly inadequate.

General Graves's narrative is an important contribution. Few features of American participation in the war have been more clouded in uncertainty than our intervention in Siberia. General Graves's story reveals that even the commander of the American forces feels obliged to confess that he understood his own mission less and less as time went on. His instructions

from the War Department were based upon information which had ceased to represent the facts even before his arrival in Siberia. Throughout his command he was subject to constant pressure from the Department of State, or at least some of its agents, to pursue a policy contrary to his interpretation of his original instructions. Scarcely a day passed without his being compelled to resist some effort by the commander of one of the other Allied detachments to persuade or force him to deviate from his instructions. His unwillingness to do so brought upon him a great deal of criticism, and this account of his command is in part a reply to those attacks.

But General Graves's book does more than throw light on the perplexities of his task and the ambiguity of American policy. He gives us a striking picture of conditions in Siberia during the Kolchak episode. He is unsparing in his denunciation of the whole Kolchak, anti-Bolshevist movement. Nothing that has been written of Bolshevist terrorism paints a more vivid picture of tyranny and brutality than General Graves's description of the counter-revolutionaries. They were, in his opinion, an absolutely worthless lot. He is consequently indignant at the attempts of his allies to support them and at the leaning of the Department of State in the same direction. His condemnation of Japanese policy is especially severe, for he attributes to it, not merely the support of a set of villains, but the pursuit by discreditable means of most discreditable ulterior objects. Throughout his narrative the author marshals so imposing an array of fact that it will require a very convincing reply to impugn the accuracy of his judgment that American intervention in Siberia was futile or perhaps worse than futile.

Swarthmore College. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, 1824–1825. Edited with an Introduction by FREDERICK MERK, Associate Professor of History in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, volume XXXI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. xxxvi, 370. $4.50.)

THE personality of Sir George Simpson stands out so emphatically in the story of the Western fur trade that a book like this, which throws a certain amount of new light upon the man and his achievements and confirms a great deal that was already known or suspected, is of much more than casual interest. Incidentally it helps us to understand what was happening in the fur trade during the critical years following the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies.

The foundation of the book is Simpson's hitherto unpublished journal for the years 1824–1825, together with a number of contemporary letters and reports, from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

These documents are equipped with adequate editorial notes and an introduction and a reproduction of Arrowsmith's map of 1824. The journal describes Simpson's journey from York Factory, on Hudson Bay, to Fort George, near the mouth of the Columbia, in 1824, and his return journey the following year.

As a narrative of travel the journal is of interest, for it describes how the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company made his way across its imperial domain in the days long before transcontinental railways had been dreamed of. Simpson left York Factory on August 15 and arrived at Fort George on November 8. That may seem to-day a considerable period of time for such a journey, but in 1824 it was very fast canoe travel, even apart from the fact that it included many stops at trading posts to enable the governor to acquaint himself with the business of the various districts. Simpson, indeed, was the Jehu of the fur trade, for he drove his *voyageurs* furiously. Professor Merk repeats an old story of a huge *voyageur,* whose patience had been tried to the breaking point, picking up the little governor, lifting him over the side of the canoe, and holding him in the water until he promised to be more reasonable.

Simpson had been given the difficult task of healing the old sores of the rival companies and welding them into one, a task for which he was peculiarly well qualified. "He combined with a sure judgment", says Professor Merk, "an exterior of affability. As an administrator his talents were exceptional. He had the imaginative vision of a Clive; he drew his plans on a scale that was continental. With vision he combined a grasp of detail that was extraordinary. He was a dynamo of energy, tireless at his work, whether at his desk or on the march. . . . With drive he combined a penchant for orderliness. . . . He was the never wearying apostle of economy." With these qualities it is not surprising that he succeeded in the seemingly hopeless task of transforming the hitherto very unprofitable Columbia department into one that yielded a fair profit.

His judgment was as sound in men as in business. When some one was needed who was big enough to leave in charge of the Columbia, he unerringly chose John McLoughlin, the man who perhaps more than any other left his mark on the early history of the country west of the Rockies. Here is Simpson's own description of McLoughlin, as he saw him at Riviere la Biche: "He was such a figure as I should not like to meet on a dark night in one of the bye lanes in the neighbourhood of London, dressed in clothes that had once been fashionable, but now covered with a thousand patches of different colors, his beard would do honor to the chin of a Grizzly Bear, his face and hands evidently shewing that he had not lost much time at his toilette, loaded with arms and his own herculean dimensions forming a tout ensemble that would convey a good idea of the highway men of former days."

Professor Merk's introduction and notes reveal a very comprehensive and just knowledge of the Western fur trade at the period when the Hudson's Bay Company was at the height of its power. His appreciation of the fact that the committee in London, instead of being a clog on the machine, was a steadying and farsighted influence, is in striking contrast to the opinions expressed in several recent books on the Hudson's Bay Company. To the humanitarianism of the committee he attributes in large degree the contrast between the general attitude of the company's men toward the Indians and that of certain American traders whose philosophy was that the only good Indian was a dead Indian.

One or two slight points perhaps call for comment. It is somewhat misleading to suggest (p. ix) that France had claims even before 1670 to the country covered by the company's charter. Certainly she had none by discovery to any part of Rupert's Land west of Hudson Bay or Lake Superior until long after that date. On page x, it would be more accurate to say that the North West Company had warehouses at Grand Portage and later at Fort William; also fifteen years do not nearly cover the period of conflict between the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company. The extraordinary error in estimating the height of Mounts Brown and Hooker (p. 35) was not in regard to the peaks themselves but rather to the pass. Thompson, usually very accurate, managed to overestimate badly the elevation of Athabaska Pass above sea level.

Ottawa. LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

Ancient Civilizations of the Andes. By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1931. Pp. xviii, 586. $7.50.)

AMBITIOUS indeed is the man who follows in the footsteps of Prescott and Markham and attempts to solve the problem of the origin of man in the Andes. So fascinating, however, is the problem that it is not surprising that Mr. Means should have succumbed to its lure. After nineteen years devoted to study at Harvard, to fieldwork as an assistant connected with the Peruvian expeditions directed by Dr. (now Senator) Hiram Bingham, to the directorship of the National Museum of Archæology in Lima, and to investigations in the museums of America and Europe, he now presents in complete form the fruits of his labors.

Very properly he gives first an excellent survey of the geography of the Andean area and shows that the transition from archaic to postarchaic culture was effected in those regions where a perfect balance was achieved between the sum of Nature's offerings and man's ability and readiness to utilize them.

In discussing the earliest culture of the Andean area Mr. Means follows Dr. Hrdlička in giving it an Asiatic origin and starts Andean man on his

march upward from the archaic and migratory state contemporaneously with the rise of the old empire of the Mayas. Two streams of development are noted, the Tiahuanaco I. period in the highlands, and the Early Chimu and Nazca on the coast. Somewhere about 600 A. D., these two merged in what the author describes as the Tiahuanaco II. period. This began to decline about 1000 A. D. and after a century of decay the two streams of culture again separated with Tiahuanaco II. civilization in the highlands becoming that of the early Incas. By 1400 A. D., the latter had come to dominate the Andean plateau and the Inca Empire was at its height in the century just previous to the coming of the Spanish.

As to the origins of this empire Mr. Means is in doubt. "It seems quite likely that the Incas were originally but a small tribe of llama-tending, potato-growing mountaineers apparently not a whit different from hundreds of others existing throughout the highlands after the collapse of the Tiahuanaco II. culture. Whether their habitat was south of Cuzco or whether Tampu—mentioned by several chroniclers—was the place now called Ollantaytambo, in the Urubamba Valley, is a point that has not yet been settled conclusively" (p. 222). The author is certain, however, that Machu Picchu, which has been described by Dr. Bingham as the real Tampu-Tocco, the original home of Manco Capac, is of late origin and was built by the Inca Pachacutec who intended it to be "an eastward bulwark of his empire" (p. 254). To the reviewer, Mr. Means's argument is not conclusive. He apparently dismisses without consideration the predominance of female skeletal remains at Machu Picchu, he offers no suggestion himself as to where it might have been, and considers the fact that Machu Picchu contains examples of many types of architecture "as eloquent of their contemporaneity and also, perhaps, of haste in the building of that citadel" (p. 534). To at least one person who has visited Machu Picchu, the buildings at that magnificent site are eloquent of anything but haste.

In recounting the history of the Incas, Mr. Means follows largely the story as given by Garcilaso de la Vega and carries it through the death of Huayna Capac. Would that he had gone a little further, and given the tragic details of the death of Tupac Amaru!

Approximately one-half of the book is devoted to the various phases of Inca culture. Economic, governmental, and social aspects of Incaic civilization, the ceremonial life and official religion, as well as other religions of the ancient Andeans, and their intellectual life in general, and the art of the loom in ancient Peru are all treated with a wealth of detail which leaves the reader amazed at the huge mass of material scrutinized by the author.

Throughout the book Mr. Means lives up to the highest canons of scholarship, although some readers will regret the necessity of turning to the end of each chapter for the footnotes. The bibliography of nearly thirty pages will be of great help to all students in this field. It is remarkably

complete, so nearly so that one wonders at the omission of Professor C. H. Mathewson's A Metallographic Description of Some Ancient Peruvian Bronzes from Machu Picchu (*American Journal of Science*, 4th ser., XL. 525–602). The index, though useful, is far from adequate. The format of the book is pleasing. The pictures and drawings (223 in number) are clear and well selected. A polychrome feather-work tunic makes an admirable frontispiece. Mr. Means has compiled a useful sketch-map of the Andean area showing the archæologically important places.

In his mode of expression Mr. Means is most happy and the combination of archæologist, ethnologist, and historian has been felicitous. The reader closes the book agreeing that "Archeology in the Andean countries is a living science" and hopes indeed that the ancient and still surviving peoples of the Andes will "surprise the world some day with a splendid renascence of its former genius".

Occidental College. OSGOOD HARDY.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: its Relation to Ancient History. By Ellen Churchill Semple, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Anthropogeography at Clark University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 737, $4.00.) Though the subtitle of this book indicates the application of basic Mediterranean geography to Ancient history, the author ranges freely and often over the broader field which may be called comparative history. The fourteen maps are well executed, but naturally limited in the amount of detail presented because of restriction to one page or smaller size. Factually, the book is magnificent, in the wide range of materials made possible by compressed treatment, and in the wealth of detailed references to ancient and modern authors. The historical deductions are not always so happy. Warmington's study, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* could have been used to great advantage in chapters VIII. and XXIII. It is misleading to state that gold was "often mixed with silver to form electrum" (p. 683), as the importance of the latter variable alloy resided chiefly in the fact that it occurred in nature and was supposed to be a separate metal. A multitude of such detailed criticisms might be offered. To emphasize them in a brief review would tend to obscure the main point—that the book is invaluable to the student of European history. The twenty-four chapters range all the way from physiography and climate to intimate problems of economic and social utilization of an environment which is even less familiar to most American students than it is to Europeans beyond the Alps. Changeable from year to year, this Mediterranean setting is nevertheless pictured as fairly constant in the large, from classic times to the present.

The "Mediterranean" type of climate, with chilly, rainy winters and hot, dry summers, occurs elsewhere; but not in conjunction with the other factors which have made this enclosed sea unique in world history. Far from merely describing the region, Professor Semple weaves an elaborate and interesting account of it as a seat of human cultures. Geographic determinism is practically absent, but geographic conditioning permeates the whole picture. We see a huge basin, marvelously located and arranged for long-distance exchanges, but lacking the natural basis for cheap inland transport. Life is easy for a sparse or moderately numerous population in much of this area, but dense aggregations run into great difficulties. Besides local transport problems, there is a relative shortage of fuels and industrial raw materials. Grains and animal fats are limited in quantity by a climate which is on the whole rather dry. Chapter X. suggests a comparison with the transalpine environments which is the key to a great deal of European history left obscure in our manuals.

The University of California. M. M. KNIGHT.

Dictionnaire Illustré de la Mythologie et des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines. Par Pierre Lavedan, Chargé de Cours à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Hachette, 1931, pp. 1037, 120 fr.) Planned some twenty years ago as an abridgment of the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg and Saglio, this has become a different, and in great measure an independent, work. The articles are arranged alphabetically under French captions, Latin being employed only exceptionally, when no corresponding French words exist. Deities are for the most part treated under the French form of their Greek names, with cross references from the Latin names, though Nike must be sought, without cross reference, under *Victoire*. In the last few decades a science of prehistory has been developed, and therefore material relating to prehistoric times has been in general omitted, though discoveries in Crete, Mycenæ, Tiryns, etc., are by no means neglected. Indeed, in the articles *Fresques* and *Peinture,* photographic reproductions of Cretan buildings and paintings are conspicuous. Of the 1015 illustrations, more than half are line cuts taken over from Daremberg and Saglio, but many are half-tones made from photographs (a few of which were taken from the air), and of the objects represented a considerable number have been discovered in recent years. So the great galley of Lake Nemi is given (under *Navire*) in half-tone, as are the Aphrodite from Cyrene (fig. 65), the Zeus from Cyrene (fig. 1011), and the great bronze Zeus or Poseidon in Athens (fig. 1010).

In general, the articles are well abreast of the times and offer full information, so far as is possible in limited space. Some of the longer articles, *e.g., Amphithéâtre, Esclaves, Habitation, Médecins,* are admirable. In the article, *Céramique,* which is as a whole excellent, no prehellenic styles or vases are mentioned except those from Crete—an unfortunate omission. It

seems rather strange to find the Apollo of the Belvedere assigned to the end of Hellenistic art (p. 81); there is no apparent reason for the omission of Ganymede, and not everyone will agree that the *Odyssey* gives a description of the Phœnician Mediterranean (p. 464), but these are minor matters. There may be, and probably are, other omissions, and experts may disagree with other statements made in this dictionary, but it embodies, as no other similar work does, the results of excavations and researches down to 1931. Its greatest defect is that it is printed on poor paper, which takes half-tones only moderately well and is too easily torn.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

History of the Christian People. By Henry K. Rowe, Ph.D., Professor of History in the Andover-Newton Theological School. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. 534, $4.00.) There have been numerous one volume histories of the Christian Church of varying degrees of usefulness written by American scholars. G. P. Fisher's *History of the Christian Church,* first published in 1887, was the most widely used text in theological seminaries until the appearance of Williston Walker's *History of the Christian Church* in 1918. These books were little more than catalogues of compressed information about dates, persons, events, doctrines, and practices. Other one volume Church histories, those by Nagler and Jacobs, for example, have found acceptance in schools of their own denominational complexion. In recent years teachers of survey courses in Church history have united in a chorus of complaint at their inability to find a suitable guide for such a course. It is doubtless in response to their increasing demand that Professor Rowe has prepared this book.

In 1924 Professor Rowe published a brief survey of American Church history, entitled *A History of Religion in the United States,* which was well received, though it has not proved to be a suitable text for a course, as its factual background is too slight. The present volume shares this defect, since no single topic is treated fully enough for a complete understanding. It is, however, admirably suited for the general reader. The style is flowing and easy, the many generalizations are usually quite accurate and even sometimes brilliant, the chapters are brief and the arrangement simple. The title is somewhat misleading, giving rise to the expectation that the emphasis is upon the people rather than upon the institution of the Church, when as a matter of fact the Church as an institution occupies the center of the stage throughout.

That Professor Rowe intended his book primarily as a classroom guide is indicated by the teaching suggestions at the close of each chapter—Questions for Study, Suggestions for Further Study, and Reading References—all very clearly and simply arranged, which will no doubt prove helpful to young students. The bibliographies strike one as rather haphazard,

with many strange omissions as well as inclusions. The format of the book is attractive and the index adequate.

The University of Chicago. W. W. SWEET.

Arnold of Brescia. By George William Greenaway, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in History in the University College of the South-West of England, Exeter, late Scholar of Peterhouse. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xi, 237, $3.00.) An English treatment of Arnold of Brescia is bound to be welcome. Mr. Greenaway, however, has failed to realize that an essay which could capture the Prince Consort and Gladstone prizes need not satisfy the non-Cantabrian world. In point of fact, Mr. Greenaway's book irritates in its brevity and annoys by its missed opportunities. The influence of the Patarin movement upon Brescia and upon Arnold is presented with more confidence than clarity. Had Mr. Greenaway used Landulph Senior for his treatment of Arialdus in Milan (which would seem necessary) as he has for an episcopal confusion in Brescia (which does not), he would have given his readers a fuller treatment of this important connection. Arnulph of Milan, the best source for the Pataria, has not, apparently, been consulted, nor is the work of G. Gaggia (*Arnaldo da Brescia,* Brescia, 1881) included in the bibliography.

The work, "throughout based on original sources" (p. vii), has not increased our knowledge of Arnold's activities, though the reader will share Mr. Greenaway's conviction that Arnold must "historically be regarded as primarily a religious reformer" (p. 201). The author is inclined to accept Hampe's suggestion that the fiery Wetzel was no other than Arnold, but his arguments weaken rather than support what may very well be a strong case. Mr. Greenaway's strength does not lie in argumentation; he is suggestive but not convincing when he gives Wibald of Corvey a prominent rôle in the formation of the imperial policy toward the Roman Republic; he fails to destroy Vacandard's theory of Arnold's 'conversion' after his expulsion from Zurich though he tries to discredit it, and he ignores the French scholar's suggestion that Arnold's substitution of the empire for the papacy in the organization of the Roman Republic greatly reduces the reformer's political significance. He is also inclined to attach more importance to the Donation of Constantine than did the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and he assumes an inconsistency between temporal power and *regalia* and the teachings of the Gospel and the Fathers. David of Augsburg was the *socius,* not the master, of Berthold of Regensburg. The work is very readable and should be welcome. It is to be hoped that Mr. Greenaway will find time to complete a picture worthily begun.

Lehigh University. SYDNEY M. BROWN.

Œuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt. Publiées par le Baron C. de Borman, Alphonse Bayot, et Édouard Poncelet. Tome III., *Le Traité des Guerres d'Awans et de Waroux, le Patron de la Temporalité, Manuscrits et Éditions des Œuvres de J. de Hemricourt.* Par A. Bayot. Introduction Historique, Notes Complémentaires, et Tables Générales, par Éd. Poncelet. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1931, pp. cdlxiii, 481.)

Chroniques Liégeoises. Éditées par le Chanoine Sylv. Balau. Tome II. Commencé par Sylv. Balau et continué par Ém. Fairon, Conservateur des Archives de l'État à Liége. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1931, pp. xii, 722.) The final volume of this edition of the literary work of Jacques de Hemricourt (1333–1403) is provided with a splendid introduction which treats of the social, economic, and political features of the Liégeois. This volume contains the treatise, *Les Guerres d'Awans et de Waroux,* important for the wars among the noble classes, and really a continuation of the *Miroir des Nobles de Hesbaye* printed in the first and second volumes, and the *Patron de la Temporalité,* valuable for views of the administration, justice, and government of the *cité* of Liége in the fourteenth century. The second volume of the *Chroniques Liégeoises* contains the unpublished chronicle of the bishops of Liége by Jean de Brusthem (d. 1549) and the *Abrégée* of the chronicle by Jean d'Outremeuse. Part of Outremeuse's original chronicle is lost and this *Abrégée* is therefore especially welcome. The volume is provided with an introduction and bibliographical notes. The high standard of excellence of previous volumes published by the Commission Royale d'Histoire is fully maintained in these works.

The University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

Englishmen at Rest and Play: Some Phases of English Leisure, 1558–1714. By Members of Wadham College. Edited by Reginald Lennard. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. vii, 248, $4.50.)

The English Medieval Feast. By William Edward Mead. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931, pp. 272, $5.00.) Each of these attractive volumes abounds in interesting and significant information. Mr. Lennard modestly submits that "Whether such matters are a very important part of English history may be disputed". The apology seems superfluous in a day when the satisfactory interpretation even of political history without the aid of social studies is generally admitted to be impossible. Were vindication necessary he provides it amply in his study of the watering places, where he shows the steady development of the cult of the "spaw" from the days when an archbishop was supposed to pay five pounds and a duke three pounds ten for treatments, and a yeoman got his for twelvepence, to

the time when ladies flocked thither for the improvement of their figures and for the capture of gout-ridden swains. W. P. Baker, with many illuminating citations, traces the rise, decline, and recrudescence of Sabbatarianism, and both he and R. F. Bretherton, who considers country inns and alehouses, give the modern reformer who believes in the control of habits by law much matter for meditation. R. N. K. Rees and Charles Fenby, dealing with meals and mealtimes, trace the gradual pushing back of the dinner hour, against the protests of the conservative, from noon or earlier to the evening, and hail two afternoon snacks of Pepys as faintly foreshadowing the tea hour. They close their account of hearty English fare with the enthronization of the Pudding.

Mr. Mead has concerned himself not with everyday meals but with the whole paraphernalia of the feast, taking his material chiefly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with occasional excursions into the sixteenth. The reader will be inclined to agree with his condemnation of the taste or tastelessness of the medieval feaster, and feel that most of the recipes cited should close with Mr. Lear's famous direction: "Throw out of the window as rapidly as possible." However, a more familiar acquaintance with modern cook books would perhaps have modified here and there Mr. Mead's recurrent condemnation of the misdirected energies of the cooks of other days.

Both of these books are based, with a few exceptions, upon printed sources, and afford excellent examples of what useful work can be done by the industrious investigator in any great library to-day. Both are handsomely illustrated; the volume of the Wadham group, from contemporary woodcuts and copperplates, and Mr. Mead's, from illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum.

Vassar College. LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

The Legacy of Islam. Edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt.D., and Alfred Guillaume, M.A., Principal of Culham College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xvi, 416, $3.50.) This is a worthy member of the broadly valuable Legacy series. Only it is well to bear in mind that the testator in this case is, as the profane have said, "a very lively corp". Islam may be assimilating Western civilization, but Islam and Christendom are still the two separate, organized, and militant schemes of life in the world. How well and clearly organized Islam has been in the past, in thinking and structure, is clear in every chapter of this book and while intellectually and politically it may seem at present to be confused and uncertain, no reader can doubt that it will in time reassert itself and reconstitute its dominant ideas, if in new forms. Among the contributors, besides the editors, are J. B. Trend, Ernest Barker, J. H. Kramers, A. H. Christie, Martin S. Briggs, and H. A. R. Gibb. All the

treatments are detailed and good; the book is both popular in scheme and thorough in its fullness. It will be broadly intelligible to any educated man, but the clearness of some chapters has suffered under accumulation of detail. In forty-five pages no one could possibly be both interesting and precise on either philosophy and theology, or science and medicine. The reader will have to accept the fact that he is dealing with a scientific outline and not a popular presentation. This is to the good for everybody; there has been far too much of the popular and misleading presentation in books on Islam. The book has an excellent index and a full and beautiful set of illustrations.

Hartford Theological Seminary. D. B. MACDONALD.

Josiah Tucker: a Selection from his Economic and Political Writings. With an Introduction by Robert Livingston Schuyler, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 576, $5.00.) In this volume Professor Schuyler reprints seven pamphlets and larger publications by Dean Tucker dealing chiefly with economic subjects and with the relations between the American colonies and the mother country. Several of the pieces are rare; the first, entitled *The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes,* was never published at all, only printed for private circulation. There is an introduction of some fifty pages which is a survey of the life of Tucker based on Professor Walter E. Clark's *Josiah Tucker, Economist,* and on substantial further gleanings by the editor. Students and libraries interested in having material of this type are indebted to Professor Schuyler for his careful labor and to the custodians of the William A. Dunning Fund at Columbia University for assistance in the preparation and publication.

Tucker was essentially a journalist whose pamphlets were addressed to specific occasions of whose atmosphere they intimately partook. Even the first item in this collection which, had it been completed and published, Professor Schuyler feels would have gained for the author "a position of eminence in the field of economics", was intended for the instruction of the heir to the crown. A legitimate part of what was actually written was a rethreshing of old straw concerning the comparative merits of "free trade" and monopolizing companies.

A journalist or controversial writer is of importance either in so far as he was a force among his contemporaries or influenced later writers. Neither in the introduction nor in the briefer editorial notes prefixed to the several pieces reprinted does Professor Schuyler undertake the detailed narrative of the precise circumstances which inspired Tucker to write and publish. A correlation of the factional controversies of the day with the main current of polemics, of which Tucker's pamphlets were but single examples, might have shown both why the dean adopted the line he did and why he fell far short of being one of the most effective journalists of his time.

Tucker combined with a tendency to be opiniated and doctrinaire the ability at times to seize on the immediately practical or pertinent aspects of a question, especially when it served to turn the tables on his adversary. That his ephemeral writings had much to do with shaping later economic thought, wants, in the judgment of the reviewer, a great deal more proving than it has had before it ceases to be a legitimate subject of doubt. With no lack of gratitude for this work, therefore, it may be worth considering whether the devotion of so much emphasis to a secondary character of this type does not run the risk of distorting the perspective and of giving the subject a place in historical literature which he scarcely deserves.

Duke University. W. T. LAPRADE.

Documents of Catherine the Great: the Correspondence with Voltaire and the Instruction of 1767 in the English Text of 1768. Edited by W. F. Reddaway, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xxxii, 349, $5.00.) The student of European history should be grateful to Mr. Reddaway for publishing Catherine's famous "Instruction" and her correspondence with Voltaire in a handy volume. While this correspondence had been available before, both in Voltaire's works and in Catherine's collected papers, it is of course very convenient to have it gathered into one volume. The student is thus saved from digging in the big sets, such as the *Sbornik*, of the Russian Historical Society, copies of which, moreover, are available in comparatively few American libraries. As to Catherine's "Instruction", the English translation, originally published in London in 1768, was up to the present practically unavailable for the average American student, and its reprinting by Mr. Reddaway is especially welcome. The documents published are preceded by an able introduction and followed by useful notes. Let me express the hope that Mr. Reddaway will in a not too distant future publish in a similar way some of the other documents of Catherine's reign, such as the "Statutes of Provincial Administration" (1775) and the two charters of 1785 (one of the gentry and the other for the towns). So far as I know, none of these documents has ever been published in English, and all three of them are very important for the student of Modern European history in general, and especially for Russian history.

Yale University. G. VERNADSKY.

Condorcet Journaliste, 1790–1794. Par Hélène Delsaux. (Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931, pp. 354, 50 fr.) The journalistic efforts of Condorcet have hitherto been treated only incidentally to his better known activities as scientist, philosopher, economist, educator, and Revolutionary deputy. The author of the study under review believes that a separate treatment is needed. Lacking the personal magnetism of a popular

leader like Mirabeau or Danton, he might yet play a rôle as a representative of the people. He failed of election to the Estates-General, however, in both Mantes and Paris. Thus deprived of a direct part in the work of reform, he turned to the press as a means of advancing his ideas. His following in Paris was never enthusiastic. The Parisians elected him to the Legislative Assembly but only by the narrow margin of 351 to 347 votes. His influence as a journalist is shown in his election to the National Convention. Standing for election in two Paris districts, where he was best known personally, he received but a single vote, while at the same time he was elected in five different departments, where he was known only through his writings.

As to his views on current problems, there is perhaps no place where they are stated more definitely and directly than in his articles and pamphlets. Here is undoubtedly the chief contribution of the book. It both clarifies and extends our knowledge of his ideas without making any startling discoveries. It also brings out his fine qualities of intelligence, honesty, and courage which are all too seldom found among journalists. Condorcet's plans and proposals often failed to bring forth the results which he desired. He opposed the confiscation of Church property, maintaining that "a poor and austere clergy is only more dangerous". His denunciation of the Constitution of 1793, while showing utter fearlessness, was directly responsible for his arrest and ultimate death.

This attractive volume gives evidence of thorough research and study. Most of the numerous writings of Condorcet have been consulted. In a bibliography of over fifty pages, omissions are rare. One is a bit surprised, however, not to find Barère's *Point du Jour* listed among the "principaux journaux" (1789–1793). The book contains five full-page portraits of Condorcet reproduced from prints and a medallion in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The State University of Iowa. GEORGE GORDON ANDREWS.

Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism. By Robert Reinhold Ergang, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 288, $4.50.) Herder is one of the most fecund thinkers of modern times. He made important contributions in many fields of thought, and his influence has been extraordinarily varied and profound. Yet he has been treated with surprising neglect by English and American scholars. Hence this work, though aiming to treat Herder from a single angle only, is at present the best general introduction in English to his ideas and influence. It opens with a general chapter on Eighteenth Century Germany followed by one on Herder's life in relation to his times. The third chapter, perhaps the most important in the book, is an analysis of Herder's fundamental conception of nationalism. The author shows that it was Herder's belief that a nation is a basic grouping in society and that the development of a *Volk* along autonomous lines is fundamental to the highest social culture. Herder com-

bined this faith in a national life with an ardent humanitarianism, and he often attacked the type of exaggerated nationalism usually associated with imperialism.

In succeeding chapters the author shows in detail how Herder applied his conception of nationalism. He preached the importance of using the German language—instead of the preferred Latin and French—in the schools, in literature, and in cultivated society. At the same time he proclaims the greatness of the historic past of the German people and the necessity of perpetuating this past in a better future. The concluding chapter is devoted to Herder's place in the general history of nationalism and to his extraordinary influence outside of Germany. The book reflects the influence of Professor Hayes, and it is certain to be considered one of the most important studies of nationalism made under his direction and inspiration.

Oberlin College. FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

The Background of International Relations: our World Horizons, National and International. By Charles Hodges, Associate Professor of Politics, New York University. (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1931, pp. xvi, 743, $4.00.) Professor Hodges breaks new ground in a subject where the organization of thought has been, and is likely to remain for many years, chaotic. International relations are a composite of many facts and forces, and their study demands a breadth of view and an erudition in many fields which are rarely given either to historian or political scientist. This book is crammed with facts and embellished with diagrams. The facts set forth are all relevant but the charts are not always clear. There is an effort to develop general concepts and categories of thought, but only with moderate success. To the historian the book is chiefly interesting as an illustration of how difficult it is to find a satisfactory substitute for the historical method in the treatment of a subject in political science. Professor Hodges made a brave attempt to summarize the meaning of his facts; it would be worth while if some historian would try his hand with the same material, applying to it the technique with which he would approach a history of, for example, the Holy Alliance, or the Congress of Berlin.

Princeton University. TYLER DENNETT.

British Far Eastern Policy, 1894–1900. By R. Stanley McCordock, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 376, $6.00.) In 1928 Dr. Philip Joseph published his *Foreign Diplomacy in China, 1894–1900.* Three years later appears Dr. McCordock's dissertation, less detailed and narrower in scope, covering the same period and field. Whereas the earlier work presents a broad and detailed analysis of the aims and actions of all the powers involved, the later concentrates attention on the policy of one government alone.

The leading rôle played by England in the opening of China to large-scale trade and treaty relations with the Western powers is admirably analyzed in the introductory chapter, due attention being paid to psychological as well as material factors. Although the author shows clearly that opium constituted but one of the numerous causes for the outbreak of the First Anglo-Chinese War, he repeatedly refers to the struggle as the Opium War. It is unfortunate that no distinction is drawn here (or throughout the volume) between the silver Mexican dollar and the United States gold dollar in the otherwise excellent account of Anglo-Chinese trade. The detailed study begins with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. The policy of Great Britain was primarily, and had been from the days of Palmerston, a commercial one with consequent purpose to maintain the territorial integrity of China. How British sympathy and support gradually veered from China to Japan as the military weakness of the former, and the ability of the latter to play the part against Russia previously laid down for China, became manifest, are clearly portrayed, as are the effects upon the British position in the extreme East of the policies of "compensation" pursued by France, Russia, and Germany after their intervention on behalf of China.

The concluding chapter, which deals with England's abandonment of "splendid isolation", her railroad agreement with Russia, Secretary Hay's enunciation of the Open Door policy, and the Boxer Rebellion, is the least satisfactory in the volume. It is both crowded and incomplete. Entirely too much is attempted, particularly as regards the detailed account of the siege of the legations in 1900. The arbitrary choice of that year as the date of closure precludes an account of the policies involved in the settlement following the Boxer outbreak. It would appear desirable to have carried the study through the settlement of 1901. The author's predilection for exhaustive citation throughout, not alone of the necessary sources but of axiomatic and other statements of common knowledge, results in the last chapter in a riot of *ibids.* and *op. cits.*, indicative of his sympathy with the graduate student who prayed that he might "grow up and become a footnote". While throwing little new light on the period studied, Dr. McCordock's work is objective in method and interesting in style, and constitutes a welcome supplement to the broader studies of Morse, Dennett, and Joseph.

The University of Chicago. HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR.

England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers, 1871–1914. By Alfred Francis Pribram, Professor of History in the University of Vienna. [The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1929.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xii, 156, $3.00.) In this series of six

lectures, Anglo-German relations constitute the core around which is built an admirable summary of European diplomacy in the pre-war period. While Germany under Bismarck plays the leading part and receives the greater share of attention, she gradually yields first place to England after Bismarck's fall, until the rôles are quite reversed with the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 and the Entente Cordiale two years later, events which ended England's isolation on the one hand and Germany's freedom of action on the other.

Professor Pribram's discussion of the Bismarckian period and the years 1890–1897 is excellent and convincing, giving the impression of a sound and generally acceptable interpretation of policies and international relationships in spite of the gaps which still remain in available source material. This can not be said for his treatment of the period after 1897 when the questions under discussion are more highly controversial and impartiality is more difficult to maintain. England's policy receives a better defense and less adverse criticism than does Germany's. To be sure, few will quarrel with the view that Bülow and his advisers were often shortsighted and maladroit and that they failed to grasp the significance of the realignment of powers which was taking place between 1904 and 1907. Nor can it be denied that both Germany and England were seeking the same objects, self-defense and the safeguarding of national interests. But that England's methods of reaching her goal were more justifiable than Germany's or that Germany was more responsible than England for the irritation which developed between them especially over the naval question, as one is inevitably led to infer whether the author intended it or not, are points of view decidedly open to dispute. Yet the exposition of policies and events is as admirably clear as in the lectures on the earlier period, and the author's conclusions, whether one-sided or well balanced, are always valuable for their perspicacity and discernment.

Despite the total lack of footnotes and the brevity of the appended bibliography, it is evident throughout that the author has clung very closely to the documentary sources and only rarely relies upon the monographs and works of others. Well-chosen extracts from the sources lend weight and interest to the discussion by allowing the statesmen of the period to speak for themselves. Only once have the rumors so prevalent in diplomatic circles led the author astray. So little evidence exists for the Blücher mission of 1875 that his acceptance of it (p. 10) is scarcely justifiable.

Clark University. DWIGHT E. LEE.

Deutsche Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte von 1870 bis zur Gegenwart. Von Prof. Dr. Georg Steinhausen. (Halle, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1931, pp. vi, 512, 12 M.) This notable work by Professor Steinhausen is an exhaustive and thoroughly objective study of the problems of German cul-

tural development from the foundation of the Bismarckian empire to the present. The trained reader will find in it the results of a decade of study of materials covering all points of view.

The consolidation of national unity marked the beginning of a new era of German cultural development which has remained an age of transition. It was, however, the economic and technical revolution of the last quarter of the nineteenth century rather than the new imperialism which caused a break with the idealistic tradition. Contemporary Germany is not at the beginning of a new cultural epoch since the post-war period belongs to this transition age.

Notwithstanding the political and social results of the German revolutionary movement, which the author discussed in *Der Politische Niedergang Deutschlands in seinen Tieferen Ursachen,* published in 1927, he asserts that threads with the past are unbroken in administration, law, customs, economics, and spiritual life. The author attacks the thesis of Keyserling that the result of the World War was the end of the humanitarian ideal and thus of the liberal epoch of European life. The post-war period, in the opinion of Professor Steinhausen, only accentuates the character of an age which since the middle of the nineteenth century has been identified as an age of transition.

The first three chapters of this book contain an estimate of the general culture of the imperial period, and an explanation of the strength and weaknesses of the technical, industrial, and capitalistic development. In spite of this outward development there is pointed out the gradual decline of creative personalities in poetry, art, and science. Finally, the author presents a wealth of facts and conclusions in a study of the cultural factors: individualism, spiritlessness, irrationalism, and morality.

Stanford University. RALPH H. LUTZ.

The Russian Army in the World War. By Lieutenant-General Nicholas N. Golovine, formerly Professor in the Russian Imperial General Staff College, Chief of Staff of the Russian Armies on the Rumanian Front. [Economic and Social History of the World War, Russian Series, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. xix, 287, $3.25.) Few volumes in this great series will meet with such widespread interest as the work of General Golovine. Like the other authors of the Russian series, he has done a great deal with limited materials and achieved a remarkably complete work. To those who may wonder why the Russian army was selected for this study, one might emphasize that nowhere else were such enormous masses of humanity organized for conflict, no other society was compelled to undergo so complete a readjustment. In his strenuous efforts to be uniformly objective the author is not entirely successful. Few would now maintain with him that when William II.

spoke of Panslavism, he did so "with a view to encouraging the Austrians to make an end of independent Serbia" (p. 204), nor was it only the youth of Germany and Japan who were "brought up in chauvinism" (p. 27). Occasionally a note of bitterness creeps into references to Russia's allies. No one would deny the enormous sacrifices she made in their behalf, but they should not be made to explain every military disaster. Thus the attack upon East Prussia by two separated armies, a part of Russian plans of campaign for many years, was not based solely upon appeals made by France at the eleventh hour.

It will perhaps be said that a work of this type does not belong in a series sponsored by a peace foundation, that it will merely serve as grist in the mill of those who hold that the great lesson of the last war was the necessity of being better prepared for the next. But the fault lies not in the plan of the work. What General Golovine has failed to emphasize sufficiently is that the case of Russia, which was almost unique in the huge proportion of her budget devoted to military purposes, is a perfect illustration of the fact that the demands of modern war are so vast and varied that no adequate preparation in time of peace is conceivable, at least nothing short of a military strait-jacket which would press upon every phase of national life and which no society could long endure.

The University of Minnesota. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Stresemann. By Antonina Vallentin-Luchaire. Translated by Eric Sutton. Foreword by Dr. Albert Einstein. (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. vii, 359, $4.00.) In the autumn of 1922 Gustav Stresemann's outlook and purpose in life were profoundly altered when he reached the momentous conclusion that "if Europe is ever to find rest and recuperation, the only way is an understanding between Germany and France". Frau Vallentin-Luchaire's biography of post-war Germany's most distinguished statesman is largely a discussion of his untiring efforts to bring about this understanding, six-sevenths of the volume being devoted to the years from 1922 to 1929. Scarcely more than fifty pages are given to Stresemann's career prior to 1922, and these contain not so much facts regarding his early life as a somewhat philosophical interpretation and background for his later activities.

Indeed, the volume as a whole may perhaps be fairly described as a minimum of facts immersed in a maximum of imagination, interpretation, and psychoanalysis. Doubtless the purpose of the author was not to write an authoritative and definitive biography of her hero but to reveal the character and spirit of the man. If so, she has attained her end, for by intimate glimpses into the life and mind of her subject she convinces her readers that here was not merely a great statesman but a genuine man of

flesh and blood with ambitions and ideals, difficulties and perplexities, successes and disappointments. When it comes to characterizations and descriptions Frau Vallentin-Luchaire is undoubtedly an artist. Unfortunately, her prejudices, her exaggerations, and her fertile imagination prevent her from being a true historian. Many of the incidents which she relates would appear to require of an author powers both of omniscience and omnipresence. For this very reason, perhaps, the volume is extremely interesting and holds the attention to the final page. It may be, too, of considerable value as a background for the post-war international relations of Europe, provided one bears in mind that it is after all fundamentally a eulogistic appreciation and interpretation of a revered hero.

Indiana University. F. Lee Benns.

Soviet Policy in Public Finance, 1917–1928. By Gregory Y. Sokolnikov and Associates. Translated by Elena Varneck. Edited by Lincoln Hutchinson and Carl C. Plehn. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. xiv, 470, $4.00.) This is a volume in which the former head of the commissariat of finance and certain Soviet financial experts have collaborated. An introductory chapter is devoted to the period from 1802 to 1917, and the ten chapters which follow, to the decade 1917–1928. It therefore serves as a financial history of the pre-Five Year Plan epoch.

The editors explain that the work as presented is not in line with the objective researches which the late Professor Golder had projected because the necessary type of coöperation was not obtained from the Soviet authorities. They also point out that it is more an "ex parte statement" than a "scientific, objective study". To offset the "subjective bias" they at times question the statistical evidence in footnotes, but claim, and it seems rightly so, that a work even with these limitations gives "an authoritative picture of Soviet policy" in this field as their leaders see it.

The testimony offered in the present work shows conclusively how the force of events often drove the Soviet leaders to adopt policies contrary to their previously announced views, as for instance in making the main structure of finance for the Union rest upon indirect, instead of direct, taxes. Eloquent proof is also given of the potency of the printing press which in its production of paper money saved the Soviet government "when there was no possibility of paying for civil war out of direct tax receipts", while at the same time it destroyed the bourgeoisie. In such a closed financial system and under such conditions in the Soviet Union it was possible—just before the Five Year Plan was inaugurated—to mobilize one hundred million rubles on foreign credit and five and a half billion rubles on domestic credit (p. 240). This was done principally out of loans, indirect taxes, and a price-fixing policy.

It may be that the editors could have thrown further light on some of the interpretations of the Soviet experts had they drawn upon the well-known accounts of Dobb, Prokopovich, Maslov, and others. But considering their task and the inaccessibility of the sources, they have done their work well, within the limits which they set.

The University of California. ROBERT J. KERNER.

Beyond the Sublime Porte: the Grand Seraglio of Stambul. By Barnette Miller, F.R.G.S., Associate Professor of History in Wellesley College. With an Introduction by Halidé Edib. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. xxv, 281, $5.00.) Dr. Miller has begun a task of great interest, importance, and promise. When she undertook the writing of a history of the family life of the sultans of Turkey from 1530 to 1680, she found nowhere an adequate description or history of the great palace which was their usual residence. Having the good fortune to live in Constantinople after the Turkish revolutions, she was among the first to enjoy the relaxing of restrictions on visiting, measuring, and photographing the historic area.

The earlier history of this matchless site, a promontory hill about one-third by one-half a mile in extent, where the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn meet the Sea of Marmora, is still to be ascertained except for a few general facts. Here, apparently, was the citadel of Byzantium, which, no longer needed for local defense, became partly pleasure ground and partly religious territory. The area was thus comparatively empty when ten years after the Turkish conquest of the city, Mohammed II. added a first new group of modest but richly adorned buildings, and set up there an alternative imperial residence, a better organized palace school, and a center of peace-time government. After the conquest of Egypt, Selim II. built the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle for the relics of the Prophet of Islam. Twenty-five years later Suleiman II. the "Magnificent" brought thither from the older palace his wife Roxelana with her children and attendants. Thus in the course of eighty years the power of the Turkish government, the sanctity of the Moslem religion, and the exclusiveness of the Ottoman family were concentrated there. Except for intervals when the sultan resided elsewhere the supreme importance of the palace continued through three hundred years. Fires burned some of the structures, which were mostly replaced, while others were added. Mohammed II. abandoned the palace, but it remained carefully guarded until recently, when the public has been gradually admitted, except to the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle.

Dr. Miller narrates the history of the palace itself, and describes in some detail its courts and buildings. A multitude of little known facts has been assembled and presented skillfully, casting much light on the character of Turkish leaders and people. Plans and illustrations are introduced with

extraordinary fitness. The apparatus of notes, glossary, bibliography, and index, and the bookwork, even to the picture on the jacket, are practically beyond criticism. The work as a whole must be consulted by every serious student of the history of Turkey.

The University of Illinois. A. H. LYBYER.

Modern Greece: a Chronicle and a Survey, 1800–1931. By John Mavrogordato. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xi, 251, $3.00.) This work, by the author of several articles on contemporary Greece, is intended for popular reading and has the merit of brevity. It is arranged so that about one hundred pages are devoted to a survey of Greek political history from the war of independence to the World War, while the remainder is a chronicle of many significant facts of internal Greek politics and of the international question of Greece from 1914 to 1931. The survey is based on secondary accounts; the chronicle was written, apparently, from a study by the author of day-by-day journalistic reports. The problem of Greek nationalism is treated in two chapters. Pertinent facts and comments of general interest are recorded. The book includes a brief treatment of recent cultural developments in Greece and closes with a plea for a political confederation in the Balkans.

The hero of the work is, properly, Venizelos, the storm center of Cretan and Greek politics from 1897 onward. A more liberal attitude toward King Constantine, however, would have given a better balance to the suggestive treatment of the World War period. In international matters the attitude is pro-British and anti-Russian, although the Crimean War, owing to religious questions, is viewed from another angle. Stratford Canning, for example, attempted in this war "to compel Europe to acknowledge British supremacy in the Near East" (p. 46). Generalizations in the survey are not always in conformity with the facts. The treaty which ended the Crimean War did not, as stated (p. 49), guarantee the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Although interesting, the statement that "the adoption by Russia [about 1870] of a policy of using panslavism rather than Christianity as an instrument for the disruption of the Turkish Empire" (p. 60) might be more convincing if proof of Russian cabinet action had been furnished. A weakness of the sections on more recent international relations is the absence of an interpretation of the rôle of the *Petite Entente*.

Albany College. VERNON J. PURYEAR.

Social Politics and Modern Democracies. By Charles W. Pipkin, D.Phil., Professor of Comparative Government at the Louisiana State University. Two volumes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xxxiv, 377; vii, 417, $7.50.) These volumes are a reorganization and elaboration of the author's *Idea of Social Justice* (1927) with the study brought down to

1930. The first volume is devoted to England and the second to France. This arrangement is preferable to that of the earlier work, which treated the two together, as it affords an opportunity to trace the very different development of social politics in each country and at the same time draw comparisons and contrasts. Professor Pipkin interprets his field rather broadly, but his emphasis is upon the making and administration of laws affecting directly the wage earner in the conditions of his employment and in his standard of living. The work is a very painstaking and detailed account based especially upon debates in national legislatures and labor congresses and the reports of commissions. Except for the introduction and final chapter the treatment is highly factual and the style is not one to etch pictures clearly for the reader.

In sketching the historical background the author finds that by the opening of the century both England and France had recognized the problems of the modern industrial state and had begun a comprehensive system of social legislation to meet them. They were unequally prepared to employ democratic methods, however, because England had had almost a hundred years of consistent democratic progress while France had gone from one constitutional crisis to another. French labor has suffered from the national political instability and from a devotion to dogma, which account for the revolutionary spirit and schismatic tendencies in the movement. In strong contrast are the spirit of compromise and Fabian tactics of English labor.

In both countries social legislation is now an accepted policy, a change of view that amounts to a social revolution. The present century has seen the growth of social control and the development of its technique. The movement to-day holds a commanding place in national affairs and is beyond the control of any one party, even though in pre-war England the key might be found in the Liberal program and the present urge come from Labor. Especially noteworthy in the post-war period in both countries is the use by the state of voluntary extragovernmental agencies. Industrial committees, labor councils, national economic boards, and special commissions, often selected from workers' and employers' associations, all have an important part in the direction of social policy. As a result of these decades of social politics recent surveys show the proportion of families in poverty to be far less than in the days of Booth and Rowntree.

Stanford University. CARL F. BRAND.

China in Revolution: an Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic. By Harley Farnsworth MacNair, Professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions, the University of Chicago. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xi, 244, $2.50.)

Sun Yat Sen, Liberator of China. By Henry Bond Restarick. With a Preface by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. xvii, 167, $2.50.)

The Reform Movement in China, 1898–1912. By Meribeth E. Cameron, Ph.D. [Stanford University Publications, University Series, History, Economics, and Political Science, volume III., no. 1.] (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. 223, $1.50.) Three aspects of "Changing China" are here presented to the American reader. Professor MacNair, revising and supplementing a series of lectures delivered during the spring of 1930, has compiled a "mainly factual" record of China's great revolutionary struggle. Bishop Restarick, drawing some of his material from Honolulu Chinese friends who knew well the subject of his essay, has written a life of the man who, until his death in 1925, was a central figure in that struggle. Dr. Cameron, limiting her field to the last decade and a half of the Manchu régime, has treated of the efforts which were made during that period to adjust China's ancient institutions to a new world environment.

Professor MacNair's aim, as stated in his preface, has been "to clarify for the non-specialist the conflicting aims, institutions, and personalities" in the long drawn out struggle. In pursuance of this aim he has marshaled an impressive array of facts, names, and brief characterizations, bringing the story down as far as the middle of 1931. Although the validity of the assembled facts is, in general, unimpeachable, it is the reviewer's opinion that the completed work emphasizes anew the inability of facts to "speak for themselves". For the already initiated reader in search of material bearing upon some specific point, these closely packed pages should prove invaluable, but the non-specialist, seeking for light upon the whole Chinese situation, will often feel that some of the facts might profitably be exchanged for a few morsels of interpretation.

Honolulu still numbers among its residents many people who knew Sun Yat-sen as a boy or who coöperated with him in his earliest anti-Manchu activities. From these witnesses, whose testimony would otherwise have been lost to future biographers, Bishop Restarick has collected no small amount of valuable and hitherto unpublished material relating to the boyhood and early career of the great revolutionist. It is, as Professor Latourette points out in his brief preface, too early for anyone to undertake the writing of the definitive life of Dr. Sun. When, however, the time comes for such a biography to be written, its author will be immeasurably indebted to the author of this small volume.

Dr. Cameron's careful study of the Chinese reform movement is a real addition to the literature of the subject. The author's research has not gone beyond the material already in print, most of it in English; but this material has been thoroughly explored, and the results have been set forth with

a clarity of statement which is all too frequently lacking in doctoral dissertations.

Simmons College. G. Nye Steiger.

Jehol, die Kaiserstadt. Von Sven Hedin. (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1932, pp. 212.) The palaces of Jehol, situated 130 miles northeast of Peiping, beyond the Great Wall, constituted for two hundred years a summer resort—the Fontainebleau or Potsdam—of the Manchu emperors. The immediate purpose of Sven Hedin's visit in the summer of 1930 was to build a model, and obtain minute specifications, of the so-called "Golden Pavilion" which the author believes to be "die edelste Perle chinesischer Baukunst", and of which a permanent facsimile is shortly to appear in one of the parks of Chicago. This is not merely a study of the architectual monuments of Jehol, but of the lore connected with them, from their inception in 1711, through their glory under Ch'ien-lung, down to the melancholy decay and resolute plundering of recent years. The author utilized to good purpose the descriptions left by the Jesuit missionaries, the Macartney Embassy of 1793, Professor O. Franke's studies in 1902, local inscriptions on stone, imperial edicts, and recently published palace archives—translations of the latter being furnished by Mr. T. K. Ku, of the National Library, Peiping. The real use of these palaces, as shown by their location beyond the Great Wall, was to entertain lavishly, and thus curry the favor of the Mongolian princes and the Tibetan ecclesiastics who actually furnished most of the funds. Here the flight from Russia of the Kalmuck Tartars, and their return to Chinese sovereignty in 1771, was celebrated with the building of the "Potola" modeled after that of Lhasa. Here the Tashi Lama of Tibet was entertained by Ch'ien-lung in 1780, before his mysterious death in the Yellow Temple outside the northern walls of Peiping. The book has seventy-eight well drawn illustrations: some, hitherto unpublished pictures from the Palace Museum, Peiping; others, drawings by the author himself. The book as a whole makes fascinating reading, and is, for the most part, well documented. All the more pity, therefore, that at the close the author permitted himself to lapse into interesting, but not wholly trustworthy, traditions about imperial concubines—a phase of the book which has no obvious relation to Jehol. The German text is a translation from the Swedish.

The Library of Congress. Arthur W. Hummel.

Before the Mayflower. By Captain J. H. R. Yardley. (New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1931, pp. vii, 408, $5.00.) Drawing heavily from contemporary chronicles to weave the historical background for "the adventures of those courageous Englishmen who came over before the Mayflower", Captain Yardley has prepared a story of the men, women, and ships whose stout-hearted exploits in the settlement of Virginia have so

enriched the traditions of both England and America. His style is not unattractive, and within certain limits the picture is painted with imagination. In his judgment of the men and events with which he deals, however, the author has taken only slight advantage of the perspective offered by the passage of three centuries. The estimate of his characters is all too often that of their contemporaries, and some of them come off rather badly when, in fact, they deserve more of history. This is especially true in his treatment of the leading figures in the London Company. He fails to appreciate that the factional disputes which led to the company's disruption were largely the product of conflicting interests rather than a struggle between men of good intent and those of mean purpose.

The book is more satisfactory in dealing with outstanding personalities in Virginia. Few perhaps at this date will quarrel with the attempt to give John Smith his just dues as a man whose courage was a bulwark of strength in the trying years of the colony's infancy. Nor can there be much objection to the fulsome praise of Sir George Yeardley, who not unexpectedly is of chief interest to the author. Many pages are filled with genealogical data on Yeardley's family and that of his wife, Temperance Flowerdew.

For those interested in the pedigree of the Yeardley family and in an old story attractively retold this volume will provide a few hours of entertaining reading. But more discriminating readers will find it superficial and unsatisfactory as a study of a subject about which many questions remain still unanswered. They will find cause for quarrel with some of its conclusions. And they will be annoyed by inexcusable errors and misstatements of fact all too numerous for citation.

New York University. WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN.

A History of Early American Magazines, 1741–1789. By Lyon N. Richardson, Ph.D. (New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931, pp. xi, 414, $5.00.) In this substantial volume Dr. Richardson presents a detailed account of the first thirty-seven magazines published in America. He describes the contents of these offerings, gives the facts of their history, provides a considerable amount of biographical information concerning their editors and publishers, and supplements the main narrative with copious footnote references. A descriptive bibliography and a generous index add to the value of the work. All the periodicals brought together in this study have received some consideration in earlier surveys of American magazines. Several of them have had their history rehearsed many times. But no such elaborate and comprehensive picture of the miscellanies published during a definitely restricted period has been hitherto attempted. Mr. Frank Luther Mott in his admirable *History of American Magazines,* published in 1930, does not attempt to give full-length portraits of individual journals, as he is dealing with a period of over one hundred years. He allots separate

sketches, therefore, to but twelve members of the group with which the *History of Early American Magazines* concerns itself.

By confining his attention to the publications that appeared between 1741 and 1789, Mr. Richardson is able to show just what it was that eighteenth century subscribers were offered in the way of amusement and instruction. "The literature of economics and politics", he points out, "is a major element in the contents of the magazines", but social, religious, and literary history likewise abound. A present day student interested in any of these matters will find the volume an indispensable guide to the material in early journals. With the help of the index he may follow through their columns whatever was being presented on such subjects as agriculture, currency, education, Indians, manufacturers, medicine, Methodism, music, revivals, science, and slavery. He may note what "embellishments" were appearing, and what engravers were supplying designs. He may consider the criticism, the fiction, the poetry, and the innumerable essays by means of which the magazines attained literary importance. If he is interested in the Hartford Wits, or in any of the minor writers who were attempting to create a literature in the New World, he will find frequent references to them. The details of publication, the trials of publishers and editors, the identification of obscure contributors, and the annotated copies of many periodicals, all receive attention. Indeed, it seems safe to say that any person wishing to find in one place all the available information on American magazines from 1741 to 1789 will be wise to turn to this closely packed volume.

Wellesley College. BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

Joseph Hawley, Colonial Radical. By E. Francis Brown. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. ix, 213, $2.75.) This monograph is an attempt to place Joseph Hawley in relation to the history of Massachusetts and the other leaders of the period before and during the Revolution. In the most original chapters in the book, Mr. Brown describes the way in which Hawley built up a solid position as one of the principal political bosses of western Massachusetts. Secure in his leadership by the year 1765, Hawley was able to hold that section of the state for the Revolution, defeating Israel Williams, the Tory leader of the district. His hold on Hampshire County, together with his undoubted legal ability, made him a person of importance in the General Assembly, and his constant opposition to Thomas Hutchinson, who had disbarred him in 1767, greatly invigorated the Whigs. In 1775 he was recognized as one of the outstanding leaders of the colony, already prepared to fight and soon to insist on independence. But just as he had reached a position of more than local importance, the family taint of melancholia forced his retirement and he no longer figured save in local politics. After his return to Northampton

in 1776 he took up again local committee work, and except for periods of complete depression he was a prominent figure in the life of the county. But try as they might his friends could not draw him into the current of colonial or national politics.

The biographer of this serious minded patriot has made an unwearied search for the all too scanty material on Hawley; the biography appears definitive as to fact. The meaning of the facts, however, has not always been made clear. The reasons given on page 142 for Hawley's radicalism, for instance, are particularly weak; Joseph Hawley could no more have been a Loyalist than could Samuel Adams or William Livingston. There is no real picture of his character; the many legal cases cited, though illustrating the type of work he did, give us no insight into his learning or abilities. These defects may result from the limitations of the material, and in spite of them the author has done a good piece of work. It is unfortunate that the book went to press without careful checking, though the poor proof reading, incorrectly copied quotations, occasional faulty references, and the incorrect use of such abbreviations as *ibid.* and *op. cit.* evidence, not poor scholarship, but the driving haste which harasses all students.

Agnes Scott College. PHILIP G. DAVIDSON.

Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. Volume I., *July 12, 1776-October 2, 1777;* volume II., *October 6, 1777-November 30, 1781.* (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1931, 1932, pp. viii, 605; vii, 572, $5.00 each.) The publication of these volumes will be welcomed by all students of Virginia history, for they add materially to our knowledge of events in that state during the Revolution. They come in the nature of a supplement to the three volumes of the official letters of the governors of Virginia from the beginning of statehood to February 27, 1783. Together these publications make available for the student highly important source material, formerly partly in manuscript, and partly widely scattered in print.

The *Journals* throw a much needed light on many important phases of the war—Indian affairs, proceedings against the Tories, the importation from the West Indies and the manufacture of arms and gunpowder, the activities of the Virginia navy, the efforts to secure an adequate supply of salt, the treatment of British subjects, currency and counterfeiting, relations with other states, the lead mines, protection of trade, the army medical service, organization of the militia and the minutemen, admiralty courts, conditions in the Ohio Valley, etc.

In these volumes Dr. McIlwaine continues the careful, intelligent editing which has characterized all his work in the voluminous publications of Vir-

ginia state documents. The indexes are especially good, covering the work thoroughly, both topically and for proper names. The appearance of further volumes of this series will be awaited with interest.

Princeton University. T. J. WERTENBAKER.

New York City during the War for Independence, with Special Reference to the Period of British Occupation. By Oscar Theodore Barck, jr., Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 357.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 267, $4.25.) This volume is a series of chapters on various phases of social and political life in New York City during the American Revolution. Within the limits of the sources to which the author confined himself, he has done well. But New York during the years under discussion was the headquarters of the British army, and this book has been written without recourse to the British Headquarters Papers, which contain a wealth of material for social history. The author was aware that those papers had recently been returned to America, but he was unable to use them. Criticism can not fairly be leveled at him for this grave omission, but it does raise a serious question as to the wisdom of the policy adopted by the Columbia University Graduate School, which in this case has resulted in forcing the premature publication of what otherwise would have been a first-rate study. As regards Mr. Barck's capacity, it can be said that he knows how to handle his sources and he writes well. It is a pity that the publication of so excellent a work could not have been postponed until the author could have been given the opportunity of examining the Headquarters archives. Even as these lines are being written, there has reached the reviewer's desk a promising collection of manuscript letters written by the Hessian officers in New York during the British occupancy. (See Historical News.)

R. G. A.

Alabama in the Fifties: a Social Study. By Minnie Clare Boyd, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 353.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 263, $4.25.) A cross section of life in the Lower South during the decade preceding the Civil War would be very much the same whether it were taken from Alabama or from Georgia or Mississippi. So it happens that this study, which is related directly to Alabama, has much wider implications than its name would suggest. Recognizing the preëmption rights of others, Miss Boyd has left out of her picture all political developments, and has confined her treatment of the antebellum Alabamans to their other interests. And the picture seems to suffer little thereby. She begins with the land and finds it divided into three parts. Then come the people, who are treated too superficially in their origins but otherwise well taken care of, for the rest of the book concerns them, at

work, at play, in the home, in church, in school, in all their varied interests.

Miss Boyd records a great multiplicity of facts which she interprets or which interpret themselves. Sometimes there develops the feeling that the mass of details is too great for any other use than for an encyclopedia. Yet out of it all emerges a people who stand forth with considerable clearness. Alabamans, like Southerners generally, were not all planter aristocrats living in fine homes such as Chantilly or Gainswood, nor were they all "poor white trash". As was true generally throughout the South, two-thirds of the people owned no slaves. Naturally, Miss Boyd does not attempt to perpetuate the romantic tradition of the ante-bellum South, but she believes there was more romance than Olmsted chose to see.

Miss Boyd has with great industry examined the mass of documents on which such a study should be based and has made much use of newspapers and of manuscript collections in the Alabama archives. Errors beyond the ordinary quota have crept in. There is an impressive bibliography and a reliable index.

The University of Georgia. E. M. COULTER.

America moves West. By Robert E. Riegel, Dartmouth College. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. x, 595, $3.00.)

The Early Far West: a Narrative Outline, 1540–1850. By W. J. Ghent. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. xi, 411, $3.50.) The lists of published textbooks on the history of the American frontier contain few more comprehensive and interestingly written works than *America moves West.* As might be expected, the work displays throughout the imprint of the example and thesis of F. L. Paxson. Some of the chapters of the Paxson work, such as Frontier Finance, are replaced by Riegel with such topics as Cultural Advance. A tendency toward condensation is more noticeable in the latter half of the work, in which the effects of the Civil War upon the frontier are neglected. Indeed, one of the main criticisms of Riegel's text is that it is uneven in emphasis. Although the effects of the Civil War are slighted, four chapters are devoted to Western railways, and only one to the cattle frontier.

Few errors of fact appear in the text. Occasionally there are mistakes such as that which appears on page 302: "By 1816 trappers and traders of the Russian-American Fur Company had pushed as far south as California, and in 1820 they established Fort Ross on what is now known as San Francisco Bay." The chapter on the Mormons contains remarks which might give offense to some members of that sect. One lamentable fault is the lack of good maps. Those provided are little more than useless, and are not even listed for convenient reference. The lists of reading references are useful, although it is startling to find Paxson's *History of the American Frontier* entirely omitted.

Mr. Ghent professes to give us more up-to-date information concerning the history of the trans-Mississippi West, in his *The Early Far West.* Unlike previous delvers in the field, he has attempted a complete survey of the subject from the days of the early Spanish explorers to 1850. The subtitle suggests the character of the work, which has fallen far short of the author's expressed aim of preparing a classroom text. As a whole, the work represents no advance beyond existing standard discussions of the Far West. The addition of two sketchy preliminary chapters on Spain and France in the West is of small value. Part II., The American Period, is a chronicle by decades, a convenient if rather arbitrary arrangement. The work contains a number of excellent illustrations and some fairly useful maps, and is well indexed. Students of Western history may find in it a convenient summary of facts, but they need not expect much interpretation or color.

Arizona State Teachers College. RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

California Letters of Lucius Fairchild. Edited with Notes and Introduction by Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Wisconsin Historical Publications Collections, volume XXXI.] (Madison, the Society, 1931, pp. xix, 212, $2.25.) Other records within "the diggings" give more of the technical side of panning and sluicing; many give greater space to the loose and lurid side of a miner's preoccupations. This Fairchild lad's letters home run the whole gamut, so far as every other interest of an argonaut is concerned.

And in and between the lines you get a sense of that hidden side of a robust and honest boy's character, 'on his own', away from home—a Wisconsin home of ideals, nobility, and high Christian standards; whose 'apron strings' still hold the boy fast, even across so many miles and mountains. The surrender to the solace of a pipe was a semi-tragedy; and when, on Christmas Day, he wrote that he probably would not get drunk—had, in fact, been drunk only once or twice—the rickety, unstable, U. S. Mail facilities to California were strained severely by the horrified relatives in staid Madison.

Meanwhile, he had set his goal at a $10,000 "pile", and the reader's imagination is strained to fancy a longer series of mistakes, misadventures, mistrials, and miscues, ever leaving any modern Ulysses so completely unconquered, so superbly undaunted. Washed away by floods here; defeated in dry diggings because of lack of water there; brought low some three or four times by "fever and ager", young Fairchild, Yankee-like, becomes all things to all men and all destinies: miner, hostler, cowboy, roadhouse hired man, hotel proprietor, butcher, farmer, teamster, storekeeper, night watchman. Freeing himself at last from inconsequential partners, he makes his modest "strike" and forms a partnership that brings him, at the end of five years, his "pile" of $10,000, whereupon he departs for home to begin a career as one

of Wisconsin's notable Civil War heroes, governors, and foreign diplomats.

Amid a great deal of slothful editing of Western documents, it is a pleasure to handle one of Dr. Schafer's books, so faithfully done that the Chinook words used in common miner parlance are translated. The bibliography largely concerns original unpublished material. The index is adequate. The value of the book is enhanced by the reproduction of Lieutenant A. J. Lindsay's drawings. It is owing to Dr. Schafer that that artist has been identified with these drawings which accompanied the well-known Major Osborne Cross's *Report* (31 Cong., 2 sess., vol. I.) and which many (including the writer) have attributed to Cross himself.

Colorado College. ARCHER B. HULBERT.

The Interstate Commerce Commission: a Study in Administrative Law and Procedure. By I. L. Sharfman, Professor of Economics in the University of Michigan. Part I. (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1931, pp. xvi, 317, $3.50.) This is primarily a study in administrative law. It traces the process by which the legislative basis of the commission's authority has been progressively broadened. It is interested essentially in the results reached, and only to a subordinate degree in the historical antecedents of each successive change. The historian finds in the treatise a clear narrative of the growth of the commission's powers, but only such incidental explanation of the causes of the evolution as may be necessary to link together the steps of the process. This is no disparagement of the author's method. A study in administrative law has a clearly defined aim, quite as legitimate as the historian's normal aim, but differing from it in character. Bryce's *American Commonwealth* was an admirable exposition of our constitutional system, but it was not pure constitutional history. Sharfman's aim would have been deflected if he had turned aside to recite and appraise at length the not infrequent dramatic setting in which legal alterations in the commission's powers developed. The congressional history of the Hepburn Act of 1906 is an example. The alignment of opposing commercial interests, the adroit maneuvers of President Roosevelt, the hostile, subterranean strategy of Senator Aldrich and his allies in the Senate, all go to make it almost a high spot in our national life. Sharfman is keenly aware of the situation, but is properly intent upon showing mainly that the Hepburn Act first gave the commission substantial power over the fixing of rates for the future, and first clothed that tribunal with the power of enforcing its orders promptly.

The historian will be interested in the instances the book affords of the receding tide of *laissez faire* as a political shibboleth; in the extension of public control over the industry of rail transport; in the breakdown of the extreme dogma of the division of powers between the executive, the legislature, and the courts; in the emergence of the dictatorial control in time of war; in the enlargement of the field of social control as regards safety legisla-

tion; and in the changed public policy as regards combinations, and as regards the necessity of an adequate return to the railroads to ensure needed transportation facilities to the nation.

Yale University. WINTHROP M. DANIELS.

Dictionnaire Général du Canada. Par le R. P. L. Le Jeune, Ancien Professeur et Docteur ès Lettres de l'Université d'Ottawa. Deux tomes. Tome I., A à K; tome II., L à Z. (Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 1931, pp. viii, 862; 838.) This is, in effect, an encyclopædia of Canadian history. It is a remarkable accomplishment for a single person, for much of its content is derived directly from the great collections in the Dominion Archives, and it is notably up-to-date both in its statistical information and in its notices of French authorities. Father Le Jeune seems consistently to have tried to avoid extremes of praise and blame and his successes in impartiality have not been at the price of avoiding interpretation. Yet his introduction and the bibliographical notes which accompany each article make it obvious that he has depended predominantly on French and French-Canadian historiography and he has thus failed to take full advantage of English-Canadian scholarship. The most striking example of this, for which the article on Miles Macdonell might be an illustration, is his regrettable neglect of the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* and of its successor, the *Canadian Historical Review*. In 1929, Father A. G. Morice contributed his last word on the Macdonells to the *Review*. This defect becomes quite serious when it involves the omission of standard works such as R. A. MacKay's book on the Senate, New's biography of Durham, and many others. In addition, Father Le Jeune does not seem to be aware of the radical reëditing of the Makers of Canada series in 1926, a most important consideration in a work so largely biographical. If his venture should become the basis for new editions in later years it is to be hoped that a greater effort will be made to do justice to both the Canadian peoples.

J. B. B.

The United States and Mexico. By J. Fred Rippy, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of History, Duke University. Revised Edition. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1931, xi, 423, $3.75.) A doctor's thesis seldom attracts attention from nonprofessionals. The present volume is a conspicuous exception since it calls for a second edition within five years. The plan of the original work has already been described in the *Review* (XXXII. 899-901). The first 331 pages are herewith reprinted with no essential change in text or notes. The chapters dealing with the policy of Wilson and Hughes have been rewritten and further discussion added to explain conditions with Kellogg "at the helm" and Morrow directing the course. The author's "conclusions" are virtually those presented before.

The result is not a well proportioned book but one that has served with reasonable success both a scholarly clientele and the general public. While hardly a popular manual, the author, by prefixing to his original thesis an introductory chapter and by summarizing events since 1880, has given it a double use. His bibliography is slightly enlarged. To the scant material available for the recent years he might have added further manuscript data and made some use of Gruening's helpful interpretation or of the Latin-American press. There are a few slips that should be corrected in another printing. In view of the general excellence of the book it deserves renewed circulation.

I. J. C.

The Struggle for South America: Economy and Ideology. By J. F. Normano. With an Introduction by Clarence H. Haring, Professor of Latin-American History and Economics, Harvard University. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931, pp. 294, $4.00.) In this book J. F. Normano presents an interesting study of the relations of the South American countries with other nations. The former are the courted and the latter the seducers. The economic and trade factors are analyzed and the ideas and motives of all parties to the courtship are portrayed. The problems of South America due to mono-production are recognized and movements, such as Latin-Americanism, Hispanic-Americanism, Continentalism, and Pan-Americanism, evolved to attract the South American republic, are considered ineffective. The Anglo-Saxons and Iberians of the New World will probably adjust their mutual relations along the lines being worked out in Cuba, which is considered as an experiment. Although the Yankee peril is not considered as a serious matter by the author, yet it is found as a factor making for anti-Americanism in many of the South American states. It is the Spanish-American bloc, which is anti-American in character, that tends to make Brazil and the United States draw closer together. These two great countries, the most extensive territorially of their respective continents, are together with England sharing the greatness of the world. The author feels that Brazil and the United States will continue their hegemony in the South and North American continents. The volume lacks an index and has no formal bibliographical list. It is also marred by a considerable number of misspellings, including proper names, and some obscure passages. Nevertheless Mr. Normano has made a valuable contribution to the study of the problems of South America.

Leonia, New Jersey. ROSCOE R. HILL.

The Culture Contacts of the United States and China: the Earliest Sino-American Culture Contacts, 1784–1844. By George H. Danton,

Oberlin College. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. xiv, 133, $2.00.) Professor Danton, although primarily a specialist in the German language and literature, has employed part of a long residence in China in making a scholarly study of the country and of its contacts with other nations. The present volume is only the beginning of a more extended examination of the effects of the relations between the United States and China upon the cultures of the two peoples. The period covered in this introductory portion is that between the arrival of the first American ship in China, in 1784, and the first treaty between the two powers, in 1844. During these six decades intercourse between the two peoples was so strictly limited that the immediate consequences in the civilization of each were almost negligible and the years are significant chiefly for the events to which they were preliminary. However, as Professor Danton has clearly seen, the later years can not be understood without a survey of these beginnings. It was then, for example, that the school was established from which Yung Wing went to the United States, with results subsequently momentous in the educational history of China. In China the chief agents of effective cultural contacts were missionaries. There were almost no Chinese in the United States during the period and the modifications in American life were extremely slight. Professor Danton has done his work well. He has gone diligently into the printed sources in English and writes clearly and with fairness and discrimination.

Yale University. K. S. LATOURETTE.

COMMUNICATION

To the Editor of the *American Historical Review:*

I should like, with your permission, first to express my thanks to Professor Charles Seymour for the favorable account he published in the January number of the *American Historical Review* of the book on American sentiment during the war which I wrote, of course not to teach Americans what that sentiment had been, but to recall it to my compatriots, lest, in the midst of so much present wrangling about the reparations, the debts, etc., they should lose sight of it.

Secondly, Mr. Seymour and I, being equally bent on historical accuracy, as behooves members of the Historical Association, I hope you will allow me to submit brief remarks on some questions of fact raised by him.

Concerning the reasons why the Germans declared war on us, it was, I hope, permissible for one who was writing about American sentiment during the war to quote Mr. Beck's book and to abide by what the Germans said at that time. Other and better reasons have been, they allege, discovered since. But as they were then unaware of them, their decision can not have been influenced thereby. One of their motives, an unmentioned one, but made evident by recently published papers, was a longing for a limitless hegemony which caused them, always with the possibility of war in view, to be, in accordance with their interests of the moment, pro-Russian or anti-Russian, pro-French or anti-French, pro-Boer or anti-Boer, pro-English or anti-English, anti-American (Manila, Venezuela, Roosevelt's ultimatum) or pro-American, anti-Japanese or pro-Japanese. According to Professor Seymour, Mr. Beck was wrong in saying that he had now nothing to change in his book. But if he chose to give a new edition, he might quote a number of facts and documents come to light since and confirmatory of his views, the memoirs of Baron Beyens for instance, the Germans' own *Grosse Politik*, or, more decisive perhaps than all the rest, the recently published letter of Count Hoyos to his friend Mérey, giving an account of his mission to Berlin in July, 1914, and which leaves no doubt as to Germany's firm purpose to go to war.

According to Professor Seymour, "it is not fair to General Bliss to class him with General Pershing as opposed to granting an armistice to Germany" [in October, 1918].

Nothing is further from my thoughts than to be unfair to General Bliss for whom I ever entertained feelings of respect and affection. That he was opposed, as I said, to the cessation of hostilities under the conditions proposed in the contemplated armistice is sufficiently shown by his article in

the October number, 1922, of the *American Journal of International Law*, in which he explains that he held those conditions to be inadequate and inefficient; they should have consisted in "a complete surrender, with resulting disarmament and demobilization". He even states, without expressing any horror at the thought, the opinion that "there was a time when the Allied Governments could have insisted on [finishing in Berlin], had they so desired". He reasserts further his point of view, saying: "The one great error in the armistice, as now admitted by thinking men generally in Europe, was the failure to demand complete surrender with the resulting disarmament and demobilization." Recent events have not diminished the number of thinking men who agree with him.

It is said that "M. Jusserand's explanation of the origin of the Fourteen Points is curiously mistaken. President Wilson did not draft them 'in view of the refusal of the enemy to define clearly war aims and in fear lest some one else should beat him to this goal'. He wrote the speech of the Fourteen Points primarily as a reply to the Russian demand for the crystallization of war aims, and only after Colonel House had found it impossible to persuade the supreme war council to agree upon a formula."

I do not pretend that the Russian state of mind was not *one* of the several motives of the President when he delivered his message of January 8, 1918, though more than one of the fourteen clauses was not calculated to delight Russians; Lenin said that he liked them, but the Poles soon discovered that he did not. The most direct appeal to Russia had consisted, in fact, in the glowing paragraph inserted into the President's message of April 2, 1917, and cabled apart from the rest to Ambassador Francis, praising to the sky the recent Revolution, "and the great, generous Russian people. . . . Here is a fit partner for a league of honor."

But that the chief motives were what I said, I can not help believing, as my conversations with President Wilson left me no doubt. Whenever there was a sign of somebody else's assuming the initiative, his displeasure was unmistakable. He had even informed Congress and the public of his disposition to be the chief mover in those all-important matters. In his message of January 22, 1917, which contains an early sketch of the Fourteen Points (league of nations, right of peoples to self-determination, independence of Poland, access to the sea, freedom of the seas, etc.), he said: "Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the people of the world, who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back." I was not surprised therefore when I noticed his irritation each time some other "person in high authority", the pope, for example, in August, 1917, made a move to assume this rôle. The President plainly showed me his ill-humor at Benedict XV.'s wanting to "butt in" (his own words).

Concerning the non-ratification of the Versailles Treaty, the part played by Senator Lodge, the President, and some others, I do not understand to

what passage in my book objection is taken, for I did not discuss at all that point. My way of thinking as to the appropriateness, under the circumstances, of Senator Lodge's reservations being adopted (though not so very "inconsequential") never differed, in fact, from that of Professor Seymour, and I ever spoke, wrote, and acted accordingly.

Very sincerely yours,

JUSSERAND.

Paris, January 25, 1932.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Special George Washington Bicentennial Meeting of the Association was held on May 7 in the Coolidge Music Auditorium of the Library of Congress. There were two sessions. At the afternoon session Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart presided. Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick presented an illuminating paper on The Significance to the Historian of the New Bicentennial Edition of the Writings of George Washington, four volumes of which have already appeared. Dr. Edmund C. Burnett spoke on Washington and Committees at Headquarters, throwing much light upon a phase of the activity of the Continental Congress hitherto left obscure. Dr. Charles Moore followed with a charming sketch of The Potomac Environment of George Washington. At the conclusion of the paper Dr. Moore showed on the screen the principal houses which he had been describing. He also presided at the evening session, and expressed the regret which was felt by all that Dr. J. F. Jameson was prevented by illness from having a share in the memorial exercises. The Bicentennial Address was delivered by Dr. William E. Dodd, and his subject was George Washington, Nationalist. He reviewed the characteristic features of Washington's career, giving new and suggestive interpretations. At both sessions were present many members of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, which was holding its annual meeting in Washington.

The committee which is administering the Beveridge Memorial Fund announces two further volumes: Documents on the Seven Years' War in America from the papers of the Duke of Cumberland in Windsor Castle, edited by Professor S. M. Pargellis, of Yale University, and a collation of instructions to the governors of royal provinces in America, by Professor L. W. Labaree, also of Yale. The Beveridge Fund committee will welcome further projects of documentary publication.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the Association is to be congratulated upon the appearance in March of the first number of the *Pacific Historical Review*. The opening article is the presidential address, delivered by Professor Dan E. Clark before the Pacific Coast Branch on December 29. The subject is Manifest Destiny and the Pacific. The other articles are Early Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations, by Payson J. Treat; California, Japan, and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913, by Thomas A. Bailey; Australasia in Conference, 1883–1887, by W. Ross Livingston; and From Pierre's Hole to Monterey: a Chapter in the Adventures of George Nidever, by William

Henry Ellison. Under Notes and Suggestions is an article on Biblio-Cartography, by Henry R. Wagner; and under Documents, a project of Bernard Romans in relation to the Pacific described in two letters edited by John C. Parish. The June number of the *Review* is to be devoted chiefly to the proceedings of the annual meeting at Berkeley and the papers presented.

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Agricultural History Society was held in Washington on April 15. The presidential address of Dr. Joseph Schafer dealt with Some Enduring Factors in Rural Polity. The basis for his observations was his detailed study of New Glarus, the Swiss community in Green County, Wisconsin. His purpose was to show the necessity of determining scientifically the normal size of farms in every agricultural locality at its various stages of development. The practical conclusion was that governmental agencies should use such norms in the solution of the problems confronting the farmer at the present time. The address will appear in an early issue of *Agricultural History*. Dr. John D. Black, of Harvard University and the Federal Farm Board, commented upon Dr. Schafer's findings and recommendations. At the business meeting the membership was reported as numbering 325. Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of Yale University, was elected president.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held, April 28–30, at Lincoln, Nebr., where a quarter of a century ago the organization was founded. One of its most delightful sessions was an anniversary dinner at which Benjamin F. Shambaugh described the "Beginnings" of the association; Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, the secretary, traced its "Progress"; Arthur C. Cole discussed the work of its quarterly, of which he is the editor; and Edward E. Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, with a plainsman's skill in scanning far horizons, analyzed the association's "Prospects". A tribute to Frederick J. Turner as historian, teacher, and man was paid by Joseph Schafer, and a greeting penned by the master of Western history shortly before his death was read.

The presidential address was given by Beverley W. Bond, jr., of the University of Cincinnati, upon the subject American Civilization comes to the Old Northwest. This is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. At the annual business meeting John D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska, was chosen president. Among the many hospitalities of the occasion were a dinner tendered by the University of Nebraska and receptions by the governor of Nebraska and the chancellor of the university.

The meeting opened with a session on the Mississippi River, with papers by James A. James, of Northwestern University, on Oliver Pollock, a New Orleans Trader and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River; and by William J. Petersen, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, on Steamboating in the Upper Mississippi Fur Trade. Speaking at a luncheon conference on Washington and the West, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, developed the theory that Washington's contacts with French officers in the West laid the basis for his military efficiency and for his broad international policies. An interesting session of the second day was that devoted to social history, with papers by Edgar B. Wesley, of the University of Minnesota, on Life at a Frontier Post, Fort Atkinson, 1823–1826; by Robert E. Riegel, of Dartmouth College, on Medical Novelties of a Century Ago—including phrenology and hypnotism; and by William W. Sweet, of the University of Chicago, on The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier. At a luncheon conference Frank H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas, presented the "inside history" of The Compromise of 1850. Both the basis and the plan of the compromise proposed by Clay, he said, were rejected, whereas the important bills were drawn by Douglas and passed in the Senate under his leadership after Clay's withdrawal. Western problems, with emphasis upon finance, were discussed in another session, with papers by Henrietta M. Larson, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, on Some Aspects of Private Banking in the Mississippi Valley before 1873; and by George F. Howe, of the University of Cincinnati, on The Star Route Frauds. At the teachers' section A. C. Krey, of the University of Minnesota, reported on the American Historical Association's investigation of the social studies and Professor Hodder spoke on the need of "Modernizing American History"—that is, of making American history textbooks reflect the advance of American historical research. Elmer Ellis, of the University of Missouri, and Mrs. Grace G. Hyatt, of Lincoln, participated in the discussion. The usual conference of directors of state historical societies was held. At the final luncheon Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, discussed the efforts of Europeans—On the Way to the Indies—to surmount the barrier of a continent.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the program was the attention given, in two sessions, to the Great Plains and their historical problems. The first of these sessions opened with a paper by Carl C. Rister, of the University of Oklahoma, on Outlaws and Vigilantes of the Southern Plains —a region that was threatened with outlaw control, but "lifted itself by its own boot-straps from the quagmire of lawlessness". Earle D. Ross, of Iowa State College, discussing Horace Greeley and the West, declared that any special regard that the noted editor had for the West sprang from "his realization of its peculiar relation to the nation's destiny". Walter P. Webb,

of the University of Texas, then introduced a discussion of The Nature of the Historical Problems of the Plains. He asserted that the historian employs, in such terms as the "frontier", the "West", and the "western frontier", a misleading terminology, for the frontier moved into the plains region—the "surviving fragment of a primitive land"—from three directions. There is a sound basis, he concluded, for "defining the West as a homogeneous section, a cultural, social, and economic unit", drawing a line between humid and arid land, "separating the East from the West in our books as they are in reality now separated in culture and in institutions", and recognizing that we have had a woodlands frontier and a plains frontier. Ernest S. Osgood, of the University of Minnesota, in the discussion that followed, pointed out that the first clash on the plains was not between agriculturist and cattleman, but between the little cattleman, emerging from the humid lands, and the big cattleman of the plains. At the second Plains session Stanley Vestal (Professor W. S. Campbell), of the University of Oklahoma, gave a highly interesting and original address entitled Through Indian Eyes: the White Man in War and Peace as seen by the Plains Indian, 1850–1876.

T. C. B.

PERSONAL

David Jayne Hill, university executive, diplomat, and publicist, died on March 2, at the age of 81. A prolific writer, his principal contribution to history was a *History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe,* in three volumes, the last of which, appearing in 1914, carried the treatment through the Age of Absolutism.

Kendric Charles Babcock, professor of history and university administrator, died on March 12, at the age of 67. A graduate of the University of Minnesota, in the class of 1889, he gained his doctor's degree at Harvard University in 1896. From 1896 to 1903 he was assistant professor of American history in the University of California, and then became president of the University of Arizona and professor of history. From 1910 to 1913 he served in the United States Bureau of Education, and from 1913 until his retirement a year ago he was dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences of the University of Illinois. He was author of the *Rise of American Nationality* (1906), and the *Scandinavian Element in the United States* (1914).

Frederick Jackson Turner, professor emeritus of Harvard University, died in Pasadena, California, on March 14, at the age of 70. He was one of America's outstanding historians. His work, more particularly his first brilliant essay on the *Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893), made necessary the rewriting of the history of the United States. He contributed to American scholarship the concepts of the frontier and

the section, and he turned the thoughts of American historical students from an earlier emphasis on political and constitutional history to the causes and process of westward migration, the occupation of the various geographic provinces of the United States, and the result of the formation of sections upon American life. His literary product, which was distinguished by remarkable insight, by profound and exact scholarship, and by a literary presentation that ranks it with the masterpieces of American historical prose was in volume not large. His most significant works were his collected essays, entitled *The Frontier in American History* (1920), *The Rise of the New West* (1906) in the American Nation series, and a manuscript, left near completion, which is soon to be published, entitled *The United States, 1830–1850: the Nation and its Sections.* As a teacher, no less than as a writer, his influence was far-reaching. He taught his students at the University of Wisconsin and afterward at Harvard, the mode as well as the products of his thought, the multiple hypothesis of history, the tentativeness of historical conclusions, and the necessity of integrating historical with other social sciences. His mode of correlating political with geographic, economic, and social forces by map representation was one of his special teaching contributions. To his students he brought also the stimulus of a magnetic personality. His extraordinary influence in these respects is attested by the impressive list of books and articles dedicated to him, among them, in 1910 a volume of essays by his former students prepared especially in his honor. He was in that year president of the American Historical Association. F. M.

A short memoir on Frederick Jackson Turner at the Huntington Library, by Dr. Max Farrand, is soon to appear in *Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 3. From it the following paragraphs are taken:

"His students can best appreciate the significance of the announcement that Professor Turner presented to the Huntington Library not only his reference books but all of his notes as well. The notes are the accumulations of his years of study and are varied and voluminous beyond belief. The average person would get little from them, for they are heterogeneous and seemingly unorganized. But Turner's students will know how to use them and will find them valuable and full of suggestion."

"He was so interested in what others were doing that he would devote a great deal of time to discussing their problems or to writing in reply to requests for criticism and advice. This was in its way a continuation of his teaching, and constitutes a part of his great contribution. His letters contain many important bits of interpretation, many flashes of insight and inspiration, that will lose the wider influence they might have unless gathered in one place and made available. The bulk of his correspondence has been deposited in the Huntington Library. His own copies of many

letters are there, and other letters are being sought, especially those written in his own hand. These will be accessible to those who are competent to use them in the interests of scholarship and, when combined with his notes, the reprinting of his essays, and the publication of his larger work, will serve to carry on the influence of an original, keen, exploring mind."

Albert Perry Brigham, geologist and geographer, died on March 31, at the age of 76. He had been professor of geology at Colgate University since 1892, becoming professor emeritus in 1925. At the time of his death he was also consultant in the Library of Congress. His most notable contribution to historical studies was a volume on *Geographic Influences in American History* (1903). This work, together with Miss Ellen Churchill Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions,* published in the same year, gave to teachers and students a more intelligent comprehension of the geographical background of our national development.

Joseph Vincent Fuller, senior historian and chief of the Research Section of the Department of State, died on April 1, at the age of 41. He was a graduate of Harvard University (1914), where he received his doctor's degree in 1921. He also studied at the universities of Paris and Berlin. He taught in the universities of California and Wisconsin. During 1919 he was attached to the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. In European history his field of special interest was the Bismarckian era and he was author of an able book on *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith* (1922). He entered the Department of State in 1925. His principal monument is the careful, complete, and scholarly editing of supplementary volumes of the official publication of diplomatic correspondence of the United States, *Foreign Relations,* for the years 1914–1918, dealing with the problems of the World War, early peace negotiations, and Russia. A young scholar of mature ability, he leaves an indelible memory of rare and gentle character. S. F. B.

Charles Henry Rammelkamp, president of Illinois College, died on April 5, at the age of 58. After taking his doctor's degree at Cornell University he gave instruction in history there and at Stanford University. In 1902 he went to Illinois College and was professor of history and political science when, in 1905, he was chosen president. He was the author of the *Centennial History of Illinois College.*

James Rood Robertson, professor of history and political science at Berea College, died on April 15, at the age of 68. A graduate of Beloit College of the class of 1886, he received the doctorate from the University of California in 1908. For the two previous years he had been assistant curator in the Bancroft Library and teaching fellow in the university. In 1908 he was appointed to the chair of history and political science at Berea

College. He was a remarkably effective teacher. He edited *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769–1792* (1915).

Professor John Bach McMaster died on May 24 of pneumonia, at the home of his son, Dr. Philip McMaster, after a long period of heart affection dating from an attack at his home in Philadelphia in November, 1931. He was, at his death, within a month of 80 years of age. Professor McMaster was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1852, graduated in Liberal Arts in the College of the City of New York in 1872, and remained there as instructor in English for a year. He then studied civil engineering and in 1877 became instructor in that subject at Princeton University. He remained for six years, during which he went on several expeditions sent to identify and survey various historical localities. On one of these expeditions into the West, he was struck, as he told the writer of this note, with the drama of the settlement of a new land, the creation of a new empire, and determined to write its history before the spirit of the period was gone. It was in this way that he began to write the *History of the People of the United States.* Professor McMaster's most marked mental characteristics were his originality and individuality. They were shown in this work by the distinctiveness of the aspect of history he chose, by the use of a group of sources, preeminently the newspapers, not used to any extent by earlier historians, and by the adoption of a glowing descriptive and narrative style well suited to his subject. His writings amount to some sixteen volumes, besides many scattered articles and textbooks. His later works have not the verve, the originality of treatment, or the interest of the eight volumes of the *History of the People of the United States.* He shows the lack of the large original conception which gave shape to that work.

When the first volume appeared, in 1883, the Wharton School had just been founded at the University of Pennsylvania and McMaster was called to be professor of American history, one of the first teachers devoting himself solely to that subject in the United States. He remained at Pennsylvania until his retirement in 1922, exerting a deep influence on a long succession of graduate students. He was one of the early members of the American Historical Association, and a member of the first Board of Editors of this journal. He was president of the Association in 1905–1906, and delivered a notable address on Old Standards of Public Morals. E. P. C.

Victor Bérard, Homeric scholar and publicist, died on November 17, at the age of 67. At the École Normale he came under the influence of Vidal de la Blache, and this inclined him to look to geographical facts for explanations of much that was puzzling in the Homeric poems. It was at the École d'Athènes, however, and upon archæological tours during his stay in Greece, that the lifelong devotion to Homeric studies was first

awakened. He was almost equally interested in the present fate of the peoples around the Mediterranean, as his volumes on Macedonia, Morocco, Turkey, and Persia attest. His interpretations of Homer were summed up in a series of volumes entitled *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* and *Les Navigations d'Ulysse,* published two years ago. He was for forty years secretary of the *Revue de Paris* and long contributed its chronicle of foreign problems. At the time of his death he was also president of the senatorial commission of foreign affairs.

Stephane Gsell, the historian of North Africa, died on January 1, at the age of 67. From 1890 to 1912 he was a member of the faculty of the École des Lettres of Algiers. He then returned to France and the Collège de France created for him a chair of the history of North Africa. His greatest work was the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* in eight volumes (1913–1928). Apropos of the centenary of French Algiers he edited for the *Revue Historique* a volume entitled *Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie.* Another scholar who has done much through his archæological work for the history of the same region was Alfred Louis Delattre, who died on January 12, at the age of 81. He went to Algiers in 1875 as a member of the order of the Pères Blancs. His excavations of Christian sites, for example, the Basilica of St. Cyprian, and of Roman remains, especially at Carthage, were notable.

Albert Mathiez, of the University of Paris, died suddenly on February 26, at the age of 58. He had been called in 1927 from the University of Dijon to fill a vacancy created by the absence of Professor Sagnac in Egypt and remained even after Sagnac's return. His doctoral dissertations—*La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire* and *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires* (1904), and his earlier essays, especially *Rome et le Clergé Français sous la Constituante* (1911), were political interpretations of the religious issue. In 1908, Mathiez founded the Société des Études Robespierristes and became editor of its journal, *Les Annales Révolutionnaires,* which became *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* in 1924. Its defense of Robespierre and concomitant attack on Danton brought a split in the cordial relations theretofore existing between Aulard and Mathiez, and the division of French republican historians of the Revolution into two hostile camps. The new works of Mathiez reflected this conflict, *Études Robespierristes* (two series, 1917–1918), *Robespierre Terroriste* (1921), and *Autour de Robespierre* (1925); *Danton et la Paix* (1919), *L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes* (1920), and *Autour de Danton* (1926). The war and Mathiez's reëdition of Jaurès's volumes in the *Histoire Socialiste* fixed his attention definitely upon the social interpretation of the Revolution. These ideas were set forth principally in *La Vie Chère et le Mouvement Social sous la Terreur* (1927) and *Girondins et*

Montagnards (1930). His views have been conveniently summarized in his *La Révolution Française* (three volumes, 1922–1927) and *La Réaction Thermidorienne* (1929). L. R. G.

Fedor Schneider, professor of Medieval history in the University of Frankfort a. M., died on February 27, at the age of 52. He was regarded as the foremost representative of studies in medieval Italian institutions. Before he went to Italy as a member of the reorganized Prussian Historical Institute, he had served a valuable apprenticeship as one of the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. His most important works were *Die Reichsverwaltung in Toskana von der Gründung des Langobardenreiches bis zum Ausgang der Staufer, 568–1268*, vol. I., *Grundlagen* (1914); *Die Entstehung von Burg und Landgemeinde in Italien* (1924); and *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (1926).

Max Lenz, the distinguished German historian, died on April 7, at the age of 81. He taught at the universities of Marburg, Breslau, and finally at Berlin, where for many years he was professor of Modern history. After his retirement he lectured for a time at the newly founded University of Hamburg. His earlier work centered on the Reformation, and he edited the correspondence of Bucer with Philip, the landgrave of Hesse. At this time he also wrote a life of Luther. His later biographies dealt with Bismarck and Napoleon. He was the author of a history of the University of Berlin in four volumes (1910).

The following grants for the year 1932–1933 have been announced by the American Council of Learned Societies: John T. Lanning, for an investigation of Hispano-American colonial universities; Dorothy L. Mackay, for a history of the medieval university of Orleans; Nellie Neilson, for a calendar of important cases from the rolls of the Court of Common Bench in the middle of the fifteenth century; Hope Emily Allen, for research in the literary and religious history of England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; Clarence Ward, for a study of the development of Gothic architecture in France. Fellowships have been granted by the Council as follows: Isabel M. Calder, for work in several New England libraries on a history of the New Haven Colony; Herrlee G. Creel, further research in the history of early Chinese thought, to be carried on in China; S. Harrison Thomson, further study in England, Austria, and Czechoslovakia on Wyclif and Grosseteste.

Fellowships granted by the Social Science Research Council, with the projects upon which the incumbents are engaged, are as follows: James A. Barnes, Temple University, "Underlying Factors of the Western Movement of the Post-Civil War Years"; Charles Woolsey Cole, Columbia University, "Mercantilism in France from Richelieu to the Physiocrats"; Oron James

Hale, University of Virginia, "Influence of the Newspaper Press on Anglo-German Relations from 1890 to 1914"; George Frederick Howe, University of Cincinnati, "European Participation in the Beginnings of Pan-Americanism"; Donald Cope McKay, Harvard and Radcliffe, "Economic Origins of the Revolution of 1848 in France"; David Edward Owen, Yale University, "Biography of Sir Richard Arkwright"; David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, "Court Party in the English House of Commons from the Accession of James I. to the Beginning of the Civil War". The grants-in-aid are for the completion of the following studies: Violet Barbour, Vassar College, the rivalry between England and the Dutch Republic for European trade in the period 1648 to 1678; George W. Brown, University of Toronto, the St. Lawrence and the old colonial system, 1763 to 1854; Carl Conrad Eckhardt, University of Colorado, the peace of Westphalia and the secularization of politics; R. H. George, Brown University, *Quo Warranto* proceedings in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. in relation to the charters of re-incorporation to municipalities and to the English Parliament, 1660–1688; Halford Lancaster Hoskins, Tufts College, Mohamed Ali and the Powers; Eugene M. Kayden, University of the South, the coöperative movement in Russia, 1865–1932; Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York, the influence of the legal development of important commercial centers in England and the Continent upon the growth of the law merchant in the American colonies in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Vanderbilt University, the United States and the freedom of the seas, 1861–1865; John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles, a history of the Indian country of the Trans-Allegheny region, 1733–1763; Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois, English and French materials for a history of the Northwest, 1783–1815; Julius W. Pratt, University of Buffalo, imperialistic sentiment in the United States in the years preceding the Spanish-American War; Richard H. Shryock, Duke University, a history of public health in the American colonies and the United States to 1860.

Among the fifty-seven fellowships announced on March 13 by the Guggenheim Fund, five were for historical research. The names of the incumbents and the subjects of their projected studies are: Dom Anselm Strittmatter, Trinity College, Washington, D. C., the history of Christian life and thought; Fulmer Mood, Harvard University, literature of Anglo-Saxon promotion and expansion; Earl Morse Wilbur, Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, materials in the European archives for a comprehensive history of the Socinian-Unitarian movement; Levi Arnold Post, Haverford College, the text tradition of Plato's laws, to be studied chiefly in the Vatican Library; William Henry Chamberlain, Moscow correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor,* preparation of a history of the Russian Revolution from the downfall of czarism in March, 1917, to the adoption of the new

economic policy in March, 1921. One of the Latin-American exchange fellowships was given to Herminio Portell Vila, to carry on studies in the historical relationship between Cuba and the United States, in particular the question of annexation, the places of research being the Library of Congress and the archives of the Department of State.

The following promotions may be noted: *Brown University,* Chester H. Kirby, to be assistant professor; *University of North Carolina,* Charles B. Robson, to be assistant professor; *Vassar College,* Jean Birdsall and Caroline F. Ware to be associate professors.

Announcement is made of the following changes in university connection: *University of California,* Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, to be professor; *Stanford University,* Max Savelle, of Barnard College, to be assistant professor; *University of Wisconsin,* John D. Hicks, of the University of Nebraska, to be professor, Harold H. Schaff, of the University of Syracuse, to be assistant professor.

Professor Edward M. Hulme is on a leave of absence from Stanford University during the current term.

Leaves of absence for the year 1932–1933 have been granted as follows: *Columbia University,* J. Bartlet Brebner for the second semester, E. B. Greene for the second semester; *Cornell University,* M. L. W. Laistner for the second semester, A. P. Whitaker for the second semester; *University of Illinois,* T. C. Pease for the second semester; *University of Missouri,* Charles F. Mullett for the year; *Mount Holyoke College,* Viola F. Barnes for the second semester; *Vassar College,* Violet Barbour for the year; *University of Virginia,* Oron J. Hale and Thomas C. Johnson for the year; *University of Washington,* Cecil E. Quainton for the year.

Additional appointments are announced for the summer sessions of the following universities: *University of California,* Frank J. Klingberg; *University of California at Los Angeles,* Roland D. Hussey, André Lobanov-Rostovsky, David S. Muzzey, John W. Olmsted; *University of Wisconsin,* Louise P. Kellogg, Joseph Schafer.

Professor J. Bartlet Brebner, of Columbia University, has received from the William A. Dunning Research Fund a grant for the completion of his volume on "The Behavior of Nova Scotia during the Revolutionary Period."

Professor Preston W. Slosson, of the University of Michigan, will be in England during the coming academic year to give a series of Carnegie lectures.

Mr. Paul M. Angle has recently been appointed as librarian of the State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.

Professor Hermann Ranke, of the University of Heidelberg, will be in

residence in the University of Wisconsin during the first semester of the year 1932–1933, as Carl Schurz Professor, lecturing on Egyptology.

Mr. C. H. Collins Baker has accepted a position as a member of the permanent research staff of the Huntington Library. His field is the history of art. Mr. Baker is to be in San Marino for three months during the fall, but his obligations as Surveyor of Pictures to H. M. the King will necessitate his presence in England for a time.

Dr. L. R. Gottschalk, of the University of Chicago, is engaged upon an edition of the complete correspondence of General Lafayette. Owners of Lafayette material will confer a great favor if they will communicate the fact to Dr. Gottschalk.

GENERAL

Among the contributions to vol. XXVI. (1932) of the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America are: Artistic Aspects of Fifteenth-Century Printing, by William M. Ivins, jr.; Gleanings from Incunabula of Science and Medecine, by Arnold C. Klebs; and Bibliography and Legal History, by Theodore F. T. Plucknett.

Even those most inclined to resent the tyrannies of fashion find an exhibition of costumes interesting. The May *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art describes such an exhibition which has recently been arranged in the Gallery of Special Exhibitions. These costumes belong to the period from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. According to the description three of the finest costumes are an elaborate court costume ascribed to Mme. Bertin, the dressmaker of Marie Antoinette, a dress in green *dauphine,* and "a man's costume in light blue silk, superbly embroidered in colored silks and bullion". The glories of the Empire are illustrated by a court dress with a train of embroidered velvet.

Apropos of proposed visits of the American College of Physicians and other medical associations the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino placed on exhibition during the spring months books and manuscripts which illustrated the medical knowledge in Tudor England. The catalogue of the exhibition contains much even for the reader who can not see the books themselves. Another recent publication of the Huntington Library is *The Tryal of Susanna Martin, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournement at Salem, June 30, 1692.* The account is taken from the Rev. Cotton Mather's *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693).

The Hague Court Reports, second series, edited with an introduction by James Brown Scott (New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. xlvii, 234, $2.00), comprises the awards, agreements for arbitration, and other

documents submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration and to commissions of inquiry under the provisions of the conventions of 1899 and 1907. The volume is issued under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. It deals with the cases which have arisen since the publication of the first series a decade and a half ago.

The third annual conference on the Teaching of the Social Sciences, held at Northwestern University on Mar. 25 and 26, dealt with the problems of college instruction: the Lecture; the Discussion; Demonstrations and Reports; the History Examination; the Intellectual History of the United States; and Independent Study in the Social Sciences. Professor William A. Robson, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, spoke on the Outlook in the Social Sciences. A printed report of the proceedings is to be issued.

The volume entitled *Readings in Early Legal Institutions,* edited by William Seal Carpenter and Paul Tutt Stafford, of Princeton University (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1932, pp. vi, 359, $3.00), is intended for students of history and jurisprudence. It is made up of extended selections from the works of authoritative writers. For example, the section on Religion and Early Law comes from the *Ancient City,* by Fustel de Coulanges, and that on The Ordeal, from H. C. Lea's *Superstition and Force.* Each selection is furnished with an introduction and elucidated by abundant notes.

A little volume full of suggestive interpretations is Adriano Tilgher's *Le Travail dans les Mœurs et dans les Doctrines,* translated by Elena Bourbée and René Maublanc (Paris, Alcan, 1931, pp. xv, 172, 15 fr.). The title of the original Italian work, published in 1929, was *Homo Faber.* It is not a history of labor but an analysis of the conception of labor from the time of the Greeks and the Hebrews to the present day. The author says that Luther was the first to break away from the idea of work as painful or disciplinary and to declare that the only way to serve God was to accomplish as well as possible the task of one's profession.

The twenty-seventh annual issue of *The Book Review Digest,* edited by Marion A. Knight, Mertice M. James, and Dorothy Brown (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1932, pp. 1632) covers the year from Mar. 1, 1931, to Mar. 1, 1932. The number of books referred to is approximately 3900. The last 500 pages of the volume are taken up by the Five-year Index, listing all the books mentioned in the *Digest* since March, 1927.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April contains articles on the status of the Church in Italy, Spain, and England, by Wilfrid Parsons, Marie R. Madden, and Daniel Sargent.

We note with regret the announcement that the *Journal of Economic*

and Business History will be obliged, owing to the business depression, to suspend publication temporarily after the issue of the August number.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The first number has appeared of a new archæological journal, *Hesperia*, issued by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The format is on a generous scale, and the illustrations and plans are excellent. The number contains articles on New Material for the West Pediment of the Parthenon, by Rhys Carpenter; Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis, by Oscar Broneer; A Box of Antiquities from Corinth, by Lucy T. Shoe; and The Pnyx in Athens, by K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson.

The *Cretan Koinon*, by M. van der Mijnsbrugge (New York, Stechert) is a careful and detailed study of the few epigraphical and historical sources which deal with the union of the Cretan cities. The author believes that the establishment of the Cretan koinon was connected with the acceptance of a common right which was codified in the diagramma of the Cretans, and that the *koinodikion* was the contract of acceptance necessary before any particular city could become a member of the koinon. The chief article in the code accepted prescribed arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, but the mode of arbitration was decided by agreements between the particular cities involved. The author also traces the history of the Cretan koinon through its Greek period as an active but unstable union till in Roman times it became an ordinary provincial assembly.

Löwenjagd in Alten Aegypten, by W. Wreszinski, *Morgenland*, Heft 23, is an interesting study and comparison of representations of hunting scenes in Mesopotamian, Syrian, Minoan, and Egyptian art. The author shows how Mesopotamian and Minoan *motifs* in the case of lion hunts affected the traditional forms and conventions of Egyptian representations, and were assimilated to them, then how the Egyptian forms in their turn reacted upon North Syrian, Hittite, and the well-known Assyrian representations.

Dr. Ulrich Wilcken's *Alexander der Grosse*, reviewed here in April, has been translated into English by G. C. Richards, and is published by Chatto and Windus.

Hoarding has some ancient precedents as may be seen from no. 49 of Numismatic Notes and Monographs, which has the title of *Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos* (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1931, pp. 66, 17 plates). The author is Professor Alfred R. Bellinger and it is intended to supplement the statements found in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Third Season, 1929–1930*. The first hoard was found intact and consisted of 789 pieces. Each piece of both hoards is described and is represented in the section of plates.

The third volume, by J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, of *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* has appeared. It contains the result of a thorough survey of the comparatively rough and inaccessible portion of Cilicia Trachea between the Calycadnus and Lamus rivers inland to Ören Köi. A surprising number of ancient ruins were found and are described. There are published 801 inscriptions newly discovered or previously unpublished. There are also numerous plates and plans both of the monuments themselves and of the country about the ancient sites.

Tenney Frank's *History of Rome* has been issued in Italian, *Storia di Roma* (2 vols., 1932, 24 l.), by the press of La Nuova Italia, Florence. It contains a bibliography of over 4000 titles compiled by G. Sanna.

Descriptions of recent discoveries appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* March, in News Items From Athens, by E. P. Blegen, and Palestinian and Syrian Archaeology in 1931, by Millar Burrows. In the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* April, W. F. Albright discusses recent works on the topography and archæology of Jerusalem. In the *Illustrated London News* of Apr. 9, appear pictures from Meydum, a stone portrait of Seneferu and an XVIIIth dynasty cemetery; for Apr. 23, Alexander's crossing of the Hydaspes, placed at Jhelum by Sir Aurel Stein; May 7, at Ur, fine Sumerian stone carvings, a gaming board of Egyptian type, and also in a Persian burial of the fourth century B.C. a collection of seals of many lands; May 14, Ancient Gaza, further finds by Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el Ajjul. New fragments of the inscription describing the secular games of Septimius Severus are published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, serie sesta, 7, 7.

Among works on ancient economic history one may note S. Przeworski, Vorderasien und Osteuropa in ihren Vorgeschichtlichen Handelsbeziehungen, *Klio,* 25, 1–2; H. Fr. Lutz in the *Journal of Economic and Business History,* May, discusses the forms, use, and continuance of partnerships in the commercial system of Babylon. E. Ginsberg in the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* April, deals particularly with problems in the economy of the Hebrew nation which relate to the holding of slaves and of property, the Sabbatical year, and the Jubilee year. Of special interest is Tenney Frank's estimate, in Public Finances of Rome, 200–157 B.C. (*American Journal of Philology,* Mar.), of the probable income and expenditure of the Roman treasury. The Roman budget of Cato's day he believes was about two million dollars a year.

Articles[1]: K. S. Sandford, *Recent Developments in the Study of Palaeolithic Man in Egypt* (Am. Jour. Sem. Lang., Apr.); Fr. W. von Bissing, *Probleme der Aegyptischen Vorgeschichte,* III., *Noch einmal Aegypten und Mesopotamien* (Arch. f. Orientf., 7, 1–2); E. A. Speiser,

[1] Articles mentioned in this and the following lists appeared in periodicals dated from July, 1931, to May, 1932.

The Bearing of the Excavations at Tell Billa and at Tepe Gawra upon the Ethnic Problems of Ancient Mesopotamia (Am. Jour. Arch., Mar.); P. Collinet, *Droit Babylonien, Droit Assyrien, Droit Hittite* [I.] (Jour. des Sav., Feb.); E. F. Weidner, *Die Aelteste Nachricht über das Persische Königshaus* (Arch. f. Orientf., 7, 1–2); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Das Tempelgrab des Priesterkönigs zu Knossos* (Klio, 25, 1–2); K. M. T. Chrimes, *On Solon's Property Classes* (Class. Rev., Feb.); J. A. O. Larsen, *Sparta and the Ionian Revolt* (Class. Philol., Apr.); W. Schwahn, *Schiffspapiere* (Rhein. Mus., 81, 1); Ettore Cicotti, *Il Problema Economico nel Mondo Antico* [I.] (N. Riv. Stor., Jan.); G. de Sanctis, *Il Primo Testamento Regio a Favori dei Romani* (Riv. di Filol., Mar.); M. Holleaux, *La Clause Territoriale du Traité d'Apamée* (Rev. Études Grecques, Mar.); T. Ashby, *Das Römische Strassennetz in Südetrurien in seiner Beziehung zu dem der Etruskischen Periode* (Klio, 25, 1–2); R. C. Carrington, *The Etruscans and Pompeii* (Antiquity, Mar.); A. von Gerkan, *Der Lauf der Römischen Stadtmauer vom Kapitol zum Aventin* (Rom. Mitt., 46, 3–4); W. Otto, *Eine Antike Kriegsschuldfrage, die Vorgeschichte des 2 Punischen Kriegs* (Hist. Zeitsch., 145, 3); W. W. Tarn, *Antony's Legions* (Class. Quar., Apr.); A. von Premerstein, *Gliederung und Aufstellung der Res Gestae Divi Augusti in Rom und in Pisidischen Antiochia* (Klio, 25, 1–2); R. S. Rogers, *The Conspiracy of Agrippina* (T. Am. Philol. Assoc., 1931); P. Horovitz, *Le Problème de l'Évacuation de la Dacie Transdanubienne* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); A. Solari, *I Partiti nella Elezione di Valentiniano* (Riv. di Filol., Mar.); E. von Nischer, *Die Quellen für das Spätrömische Heerwesen* (Am. Jour. Philol., Mar.); Vittorio Viale, *Scoperta di un Edificio Romano a Vercelli* (Boll. della Soc. Piemont. di Archeol. e Belle Arti, July-Dec., 1931); Piero Barocelli, *Iulia Dertona, Appunti Archeologici Tortonesi* [I., results of the author's archæological work] (*ibid.*).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Albert Vogt, *Chronique d'Histoire Byzantine* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Jan.).

Isis (Nov.) contains the thirty-first Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Civilization (to March, 1931). An author's index is provided.

The death of the great Augustine of Hippo took place in 430. The anniversary serves as the starting point for two stout volumes containing essays by various scholars on matters relevant to his life, doctrine, and literary form. They are entitled *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (Rome, Typographie Vaticane, 1930, 1931, pp. xxxvi, 1043).

Heft III./IV. of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 1931, has a most

instructive study of Gerhoh of Reichersberg, by H. H. Jacobs, who views Gerhoh as representing in the intellectual life of the twelfth century a non-rational and therefore distinctive German current. The number contains valuable reviews of Dannenbauer's *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen,* Ernesto Bonaiuti's *Gioacchino da Fiore,* Francisco J. Montalban's *Das Spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen,* Gustav Krüger's *Religion der Goethezeit,* Dom Cuthbert Butler's work on The Vatican Council.

Karl Strecker, in an article Zur Lateinischen Literatur des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, reviews the third volume of Max Manitius's *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* in the April issue of *Historische Vierteljahrschrift.*

Movimenti Politico-Religiosi a Milano ai Tempi della Pataria, by l'rofessor S. M. Brown, has been reprinted from *Archivio Storico Lombardo,* vol. LVIII., fasc. 3.

In the *Annals of Medical History* for January is an interesting note on the Treatment of Cardiac Disease in the Twelfth Century [the case of Alexius I.], by D. C. Munro and Cushman D. Haagensen.

The *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (1932, 2) is devoted to an important contribution by P. G. Théry on Scot Érigène, Traducteur de Denys.

Articles: Angelo Segré, *La Circolazione Monetaria del Regno dei Franchi* (Riv. Stor. Ital., Oct.-Dec.); Léon Levillain, *Le Couronnement Impérial de Charlemagne* (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, Jan.); S. Hellmann, *Einhards Literarische Stellung* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); A. Dopsch, *Beneficialwesen und Feudalität* (Mitteil. des Oester. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI. 1); Mary C. Welborn, *Lotharingia as a Center of Arabic and Scientific Influence in the XI. Century* (Isis, Nov.); Kathleen Major, *Episcopal Acta in Mediaeval Capitular Archives* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); Jean Cottiaux, *La Conception de la Théologie chez Abélard* [I.] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Apr.); Harriet P. Lattin, *Note on the Fur Trade in Medieval Western Europe* (Vierteljahr. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch., XXIV. 4); Gerhart Ladner, *Formularbehelfe in der Kanzlei Kaiser Friedrichs II. und die "Briefe des Petrus de Vinea"* (Mitteil. des Oester. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XII. Erg.-Bd., 1 Heft.); Helene Burger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Aeusseren Merkmale der Papsturkunden im Späteren Mittelalter* (Arch. für Urkundenf., XII. 2); Renato Piattoli, *I Podestà del Commune di Prato dal 1265 al 1282* (Arch. Stor. Ital., LXXXIX. 4); P. David, *Recherches sur l'Annalistique Polonaise du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ Siècle* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Jan.); Alexander Cartellieri, *Das Deutsch-Französische Bündnis von 1187 und seine Wandlungen* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); Columban Fischer, *Die "Meditationes Vitae Christi", ihre Handschrift-*

liche Ueberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage (Archivum Francis. Historicum, Jan.); G. La Piana, *Joachim of Flora: a Critical Survey* (Speculum, Apr.); Gaines Post, *Masters' Salaries and Student Fees in Mediaeval Universities* (*ibid.*); S. M. Brown, *Note Biographique sur Eudes Rigaud* (Moyen Age, July-Dec.); Maurice Jusselin, *Les "Présidenz à Paris" au temps des Derniers Capétiens* (Bib. de l'École des Chartes., July-Dec.); Friedrich Bock, *Englands Beziehungen zum Reich unter Adolf von Nassau* (Mitteil. des Oester. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XII. Erg.-Bd., 1 Heft); A. Birkenmayer, *Zur Lebensgeschichte und Wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit von Giovanni Fontana* [1395?–1455?] (Isis, Jan.); Johannes Bolte, *Das Spiegelbuch, ein Illustriertes Erbauungsbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts in Dramatischer Form* (Sitzungsb. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Klasse, 1932, VI.-VIII.); Émile van Moé, *Suppliques Originales adressées à Jean XXII., Clément VI., et Innocent VI.* (Bib de l'École des Chartes, July-Dec.); Lynn Thorndike, *Calculator* (Speculum, Apr.).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Augusto Torre, *Le Origini della Guerra Mondiale: la Crisi di Algesiras* (N. Riv. Stor., Jan.).

With its first issue of a new series, January, the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* has rearranged its section of reviews. Pt. I., Chroniques, presents detailed reviews of works unusually significant, for example, the various contributions of Sir Richard Lodge to the diplomatic history of the mid-eighteenth century. Pt. II. is made up of Mélanges Bibliographiques, while pt. III. groups works bearing upon a particular phase of history, although the individual reviews are contributed by different scholars. In the present number pt. III. deals with books relative to the diplomatic history of the closing years of the nineteenth century.

In the *Historische Zeitschrift* for February Professor Walter Goetz, of the University of Leipzig, gives a critical estimate of the work of the late Ludwig von Pastor. He recognizes the importance of the contribution which Dr. Pastor made to many phases of the history of the papacy because of his utilization of material inaccessible to his predecessors. He finds, however, that the final value of his work was lessened by Dr. Pastor's position on the extreme right of the Catholic historians, occupying the point of view of the Roman curia, and not hesitating to accept the collaboration of Jesuit friends.

Students of Calvin have lacked an adequate life of Farel. This gap has now been filled by the publication of *Guillaume Farel, 1489–1565: Biographie Nouvelle écrite, d'après les Documents Originaux, par un Groupe d'Historiens, Professeurs, et Pasteurs de Suisse, de France, et d'Italie* (Neuchâtel, Delachaux, 1930, pp. 780).

In the series called A History of Europe, vol. II. has appeared with the title *Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, Harrap, 1931, pp. 222, 3s. 6d.). The author is Andrew Browning, D. Litt., professor of history in the University of Glasgow.

The echoes of an almost forgotten controversy resound once more in Professor Charles Guignebert's article on Alfred Loisy d'après lui-même in the *Revue Historique* for January. It is an extended and penetrating commentary on Professor Loisy's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Religieuse de notre Temps,* which appeared in three volumes in 1930 and 1931. Those who recall the Modernist movement will remember the part played by the Abbé Loisy. If perchance they have watched him bent over his professorial *bureau* in the Collège de France, lecturing upon some Old Testament text to a small group of devoted adepts, Professor Guignebert's interpretations will be illuminating.

The brief study which Professor C. G. Pïcavet, of the University of Toulouse, gives to *L'Europe Politique de 1919 à 1929* (Paris, Alcan [Questions du Temps Présent], 1931, pp. iii, 191, 15 fr.) is an excellent commentary upon the events and tendencies of the first decade after the war, but it is of special interest because it reveals so clearly the attitude of an important group in France. While Professor Picavet does not directly criticize French policy, even in the occupation of the Ruhr, his sympathies move toward the later Briand plans. He has good words to say of Stresemann. Of the Treaty of Versailles he intimates that it carried the idea of war over into the peace and was "une sorte de 'Jugement Dernier' laïque, avec atténuations possibles dans l'avenir". To raise the question of such an attenuation as a revision of frontiers, he, however, regards as inopportune. Passions must, he says, be appeased before the problem can be determined wisely. The same general theme is treated in a different spirit by Professor Pierre Rain, of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, in the opening lecture of the volume entitled *Aperçus Européens* (Paris, Alcan, 1931, pp. vi, 148, 12 fr.). Professor Rain's subject is Le Point de Vue Français, and he seems to regard every restriction laid upon Germany in the Treaty of Versailles as an unchangeable part of the law of Europe. That France stands for the *droit,* is the theory. Not always—unless the history of the treaties of 1814 and 1815 is forgotten. The other lectures in the volume deal with the succession states.

Professor Sidney B. Fay's paper on *The Influence of the Pre-War Press in Europe* appears in German translation in the *Berliner Monatshefte* for May.

In *Germany not Guilty in 1914* (Boston, Stratford, 1931, pp. xi, 233, $2.00) Professor M. H. Cochran, of the University of Missouri, subjects

The Coming of the War, by Professor Schmitt, to a rigorously critical examination. The first chapter is devoted to Professor Schmitt and the Salvagers. In a third chapter, under the caption of False Methodology, he is accused of tendentious mistranslations of key words and phrases, of reliance upon poor sources, and misuse of good sources. The principal attack is made upon his treatment of questions of mobilization. The tone of Professor Cochran's criticism is deplorably heightened by the use of emotional adjectives and its value destroyed by an extravagance of denunciation that will repel the serious historical student.

Articles: Michel de Bouard, *Sixte-Quint, Henri IV., et la Ligue* [with *documents inédits*] (Rev. des. Quest. Hist., Jan.); Earl J. Hamilton: *En Période de Révolution Économique, la Monnaie en Castille, 1501–1650* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); N. S. B. Gras, *The Rise of Big Business* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., May); Albert Pingaud, *Un Projet de Désarmement en 1870* [negotiations undertaken by Count Daru, French minister of foreign affairs, with Prussia through mediation of England] (Rev. des D. M., Feb. 15); Max Montgelas, *Ein Gespräch mit Freiherrn von Holstein* (Berl. Monatsh., Apr.); Heinrich Otto Meisner, ed., *Gespräche und Briefe Holsteins* (Preuss. Jahrb., Apr.); Camille Barrère, *Le Prélude de l'Offensive Allemande de 1905* [French ambassador to Italy in 1904] (Rev. des D. M., Feb. 1); August Bach, *Englands Entschluss zum Kriege* (Berl. Monatsh., Apr.); Gustav Stresemann, *La Conférence de Londres* [1924, from his journal] (Rev. de Paris, Mar. 1); Robert Livingston Schuyler, *Some Historical Idols* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.); Garrett Mattingly, *A Humanist Ambassador* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., June).

GREAT BRITAIN

Among the recent publications of H. M. Stationery Office, in addition to the *British Documents on the Origins of the War,* vol. VII., soon to be reviewed here, are: *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,* vol. VIII., Jan. 1741/1742—Dec. 1749; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, Scotland,* 1501–1554; and *Acts of the Privy Council of England,* 1621–1623.

No. 53 of the Public Record Office Lists and Indexes is *An Alphabetical Guide to Certain War Office and Other Military Records preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1931, pp. x, 530, £2 7s. 6d.). This work is in two parts, the first being a General Index, covering persons and topics, the second dealing with individual army units. The guide is intended in the first place for official use and the mention of papers does not imply that they are open to public inspection. As most of them belong to the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century such a reservation would, doubtless, be rarely applicable.

Roman Britain, by R. G. Collingwood (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. xi, 160, $2.00), which was first printed a decade ago, has been issued in a revised and enlarged edition, bringing the information on the subject up to date. A number of new illustrations have been added.

Vol. VIII., n. s., publications of the Pipe Roll Society, is *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Ninth Year of the Reign of Richard the First, 1197.* The editor is Doris M. Stenton, who has also been the editor of many of the other rolls recently published.

The work of the Exeter Research Group which is collecting material for an adequate history of that city has reached a fifth monograph with the title of *Some Disputes between the City and the Ecclesiastical Authorities of Exeter,* by Muriel E. Curtis, B. A. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1932, pp. 98, plan, 10 s. 6 d.). The disputes were over the jurisdiction of the city within the fees held by the Church—St. Stephen's fee, by the bishop, and St. Sidwell's fee, by the dean and chapter. The latter lay outside the east gate of the city. The exclusive rights of the bishop were probably the more embarrassing, because the cathedral close was at one time shut in by walls. Of course, such a situation was not unique, and may be illustrated from the history of many other medieval towns. About a third of the volume is made up of documents arranged in the appendixes. There is a good index.

Those who have visited the Chained Library of Merton will be immediately attracted by Professor F. M. Powicke's *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, Clarendon Press). Of the books in the college only a part were kept in the library. The ordinary student, however, could not afford to own the more important texts. Professor Powicke remarks that theological works in the fourteenth century were worth as much as a good-sized farm. Among the noteworthy contributions to the bibliography of the later Middle Ages made in this book are annotated lists of manuscripts.

Important material for the study of the British navy during the American Revolution is furnished by vol. LXIX. of the *Publications* of the Navy Records Society. It is divided into two volumes of which the first is entitled *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1771–1782,* edited by G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen (London, the Society, pp. xxvii, 456, 25 s. 6 d.). The documents appear to show that the loss of sea power, which was fatal to British success, was not due to the mistakes of Lord Sandwich, but to ill-judged attempts to lighten the burdens of expenditure, with the hope of easing the load of debt handed on from the Seven Years' War. The second volume is composed of *The Byng Papers* and deals with the War of the Spanish Succession.

Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay* has been added to the "World Classics" issued by Humphrey Milford.

The edition of the *Letters of Queen Victoria,* edited by G. E. Buckle, has now been completed by the publication of vol. III. of the third and final series.

The Alexander Prize will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society for the best essay on any subject approved by the Literary Director. Essays must be sent in by Mar. 31, 1933. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, London, 22, Russell Square, W. C. 1.

Articles: Gaillard Lapsley, *Buzones* [I.] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, *The King's Ministers in Parliament* [II.] (*ibid.*); Anthony Steel, *Receipt Roll Totals under Henry IV. and Henry V.* (*ibid.*); E. F. Meyer, *Tait's Observations on the Borough Common Council* (Speculum, Apr.); Glyn Roberts, *Borough Records at Caernavon* (Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Nov.); David Mathew, *Some Elizabethan Documents* (*ibid.*); F. R. Flournoy, *Political Relations of Great Britain with Morocco, from 1830 to 1841* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.); Harold Temperley, *The Last Phase of Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855–1858* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Herbert Bell, *Palmerston and Parliamentary Representation* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., June); Raymond P. Stearns, *Agricultural Adaptation in England, 1875–1900* (Agric. Hist., Apr.).

FRANCE

General review: G. Lefebvre, *Histoire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); L. R. Gottschalk, *Studies since 1920 of French Thought in the Period of the Enlightenment* (Jour. of Mod. Hist., June).

Beginning with the current year a change is made in the make-up of the volumes of the *Revue Historique.* There will be two instead of three for the year, and each will include three *livraisons* instead of two. This does not change the year's total of pages.

Mélanges Albert Dufourcq: Études d'Histoire Religieuse (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. xxii, 316, 25 fr.) is a volume offered to Professor Dufourcq, of the University of Bordeaux, by his students. In a preface M. Georges Goyau, of the French Academy, characterizes Professor Dufourcq's influence by quotations from letters of these students and describes his historical achievement, the most notable element of which is his series of volumes not yet completed on *Le Passé Chrétien: Vie et Pensée,* which itself forms the first part of a larger whole entitled *L'Avenir du Christianisme.* Among the contributors to the *Mélanges* are B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, who writes on Le Second Différend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, and Marcel Marion, whose subject is the Épisode de la Terreur en Pays Basque.

An interesting historical and philological contribution to medieval religious study is made by M. Eugène Martin-Chabot, of the Archives Nationales, whose first volume of a new and complete edition of the thirteenth century "épique-chronique", *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* has appeared (Paris, Champion, 1931, pp. xxxv, 304, 27 fr.). The poem (Bib. Nat., fonds fr., MS. 25,524), the work of two authors, is printed in the original Provençal with an accompanying French translation. The first part, the present vol. I., is attributed to Guillaume de Tudèle, a contemporary observer, who recounts the events of the struggle from the opening of the crusade until June, 1219, when Prince Louis of France, the future Louis VIII., marched on Toulouse—"Tholosa . . . que de totas citutatz es cela flora e roza".

A work of particular value for the study of seventeenth century books in which commercial or financial terms appear is *Die Französische Handelssprache im 17. Jahrhundert,* by A. Kuhn (Leipzig, Romanische Studien, I. Sprachwiss. Reihe, Heft 1, 1931, pp. 234). It is based upon the dictionaries of the period, contemporary articles, treatises, memoirs of Colbert, etc. Such a volume is welcome because Brunot's monumental *Histoire de la Langue Française* does not include this special vocabulary.

In the new collection of monographs dealing with the history of the great French châteaux (Paris, Calman-Lévy), Louis Dimier writes of Fontainebleau in the days of Francis I.; G. Lenôtre sketches the annals of Rambouillet for six centuries; Louis Batiffol, to whom the volume on the Louvre is entrusted, specializes on the period of Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; while Henry Bidou describes the great days of Blois. A dozen more volumes are to come.

A dissertation of unusual interest in these anniversary days is *The Comte de Vergennes, European Phases of his American Diplomacy, 1774–1780,* by John J. Meng (Washington, 1932, pp. 127). The work is based upon archival collections, especially in Paris. It is accompanied by an excellent descriptive bibliography.

Miss Beatrice Hyslop, B. A. Mount Holyoke, M. A. Columbia, has been awarded the "palmes d'Officier d'Académie". She was in Paris for study of the "cahiers de doléances" of 1789, for the doctoral dissertation. The French commission for publication of inedited documents relative to the French Revolution was carrying on an investigation of these documents, to ascertain where original texts exist, and where they have been reprinted. Miss Hyslop, at the suggestion of M. Bloch, professor at the Sorbonne, and inspector general of the archives, prepared a preliminary report based on information supplied by the departmental archivists, and her own findings. For this work she was awarded the "palmes", and the commission voted that she should complete the inventory for publication. The volume is now

being printed, and will appear soon in the series of Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française. It will consist of lists, alphabetically by district (*bailliage*), of all manuscript and printed texts now existing, of the *cahiers de doléances,* together with all reprinted texts.

The Collection du Centennaire of the conquest of Algiers includes series on institutions, development of natural resources, geography, archæology and history, and intellectual, artistic, and educational institutions. To the first of these belongs *L'Œuvre de la France en Algérie: la Justice,* by Edmond Norès, of the Algerian court of appeals (Paris, Alcan, 1931, pp. 737). The first part deals with the evils characteristic of the situation prior to the conquest, a situation so oppressive that French intervention was more than justified. That the authorities of Algiers were unlikely to change their practices the author shows in a section on the history of Morocco before the French protectorate. Pt. II. describes the difficulties which the French faced in Algiers, while pt. III. shows what has been accomplished.

The essay of Dr. Fanny Hess on *Albert Sorel als Historiker* (Jena, Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1932, pp. 64) is an important addition to the scattered memorials of that great historian of French foreign affairs during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. It is based upon a careful examination and analysis of Sorel's ideas of history and historical method as revealed in his collected essays and in his works. One defect in his method, explicable by the date of his formative experience, is perhaps insufficiently emphasized, and this was his failure to utilize sufficiently other archival collections than those of France.

Articles: G. Lefebvre, *Les Caractères Originaux de l'Histoire Rurale de la France d'après un Livre Récent* [by Marc Bloch] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Jan.); G. Pagès, *Essai sur l'Évolution des Institutions Administratives en France du Commencement du XVI^e^ Siècle à la Fin du XVII^e^* [I.] (*ibid.*); Gaston Dodu, *Les Débuts d'une Dynastie: Philippe VI. et Jean II.* (Rev. des Études Hist., Jan.); Gabriel Hanotaux and Duc de la Force, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* [I., concl.] (Rev. des D. M., Mar. 15, Apr. 1); Robert Bigo, *Aux Origines du Mont-de-Piété Parisien: Bienfaisance et Crédit, 1777–1789* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); Edmond Sureau, *La Révolution Française et le Prolétariat Rural* [II.] (An. Hist. de le Rév. Fr., Mar.); Pierre Caron, *La Convention a-t-elle flétri Danton le 11 Vendémiaire,* an IV. (Rév. Fr., Jan.); P. Mantoux, *A qui furent addressées les "Réflexions sur la Révolution Française" de Burke? (ibid.); Journal du Général Rossetti: la Campagne de Russie, 1812* [I.–IV., Murat's aide-de-camp] (Rev. de France, Mar. 15, Apr. 1); Gamaliel Bradford, *The Prince of Darkness: Talleyrand* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

At the request of the governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, J. Van Kan, former professor at Leyden and at Batavia and now member of the council of the Dutch East Indies, visited British India and Ceylon in 1929 and 1930 to inventory materials relative to Holland in British archives. The results are published in *Compagniebescheiden en Aanverwante Archivalia in Britisch Indie en op Ceylon: Verslag van een Onderzoek in 1929–1930 op last van Z. E. den Gouverneur-Generaal Ingesteld* (Batavia, Kolff, 1931, pp. vi, 253). The work, done with great care, is furnished with extensive tables.

GERMANY

General review: Hermann Wendorf, *Der Durchbruch der Neuen Erkenntnis Luthers im Lichte der Handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung*, [I.] (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.).

Two monographs setting forth the latest additions to our knowledge of primitive German life have been written by Walter Matthes, under the respective titles, *Die Nördlichen Elbgermanen in Spätrömischer Zeit* (Leipzig, Kabitzsch, 1931, pp. 108) and *Die Germanen in der Prignitz zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung* (pp. viii, 138).

Much light upon the causes of the decline of the Hapsburgs under one of the successors of Rudolph is given by Alfred Hessel in *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter König Albrecht I. von Hapsburg*. Albrecht was concerned with nothing but territorial aggrandizement, and was not successful even in this. The volume, as its title indicates, belongs to the series of *Jahrbücher* published under the auspices of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1931).

A work which bids fair to be of much value for the student of German history is Fr. Schnabel's *Deutschlands Geschichtliche Quellen und Darstellungen in der Neuzeit*. Vol. I., covering *Das Zeitalter der Reformation, 1500–1550*, is available (Leipzig, Teubner, 1931, pp. viii, 375).

A study of *Friedrich der Grosse in der Englischen Literatur* has been made by Hans Marcus from contemporary writings down to 1900; he finds the opinion in general hostile (Leipzig, Mayer and Müller, 1930, pp. vi, 308).

A successful sketch of enlightened despotism in a small German state has been made by Max Braubach's *Die Vier Letzten Kurfürsten von Köln: ein Bild Rheinischer Kultur im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1931, pp. 146).

Source material for a critical moment in one of the eternal European controversies, control of the left bank of the Rhine, is to be found in J. Hansen's edition of *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution, 1780–1801*, vol. I., 1780–1791 (Publ. d.

Gesellschaft f. Rhein. Geschichtskunde, vol. XLII.; Bonn, Hanstein, 1931, pp. lii, 1095).

In *Wesen und Aufgaben der Geographie bei Alexander von Humboldt,* which belongs to the Frankfurter Geographische Hefte, Dr. Lothar Döring has endeavored to bring together in a systematic exposition the opinions of Humboldt which are scattered through his works (Frankfurt am Main, 1931, pp. 173).

Material of interest for the inner history of the Hapsburg monarchy after the Revolution of 1848 is to be found in *Das Tagebuch des Polizeiministers Kempen von 1848 bis 1859* (Vienna, Oesterreich. Bundesverlag, 1931, pp. 559, 23 M.). It is edited with an introduction by Josef Karl Mayr, of the Austrian archives.

Heinz Georg Holldack's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reaktion in Sachsen, 1849–1855* (Berlin, Ebering, 1931, pp. 221) is a massive monograph, based on archival material; it is almost a history of Saxony during the years covered.

The English translation by Geoffrey Dunlop of the third volume of the *Memoirs of Prince von Bülow* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1932, pp. x, 435, $5.00) covers the years from his resignation in 1909 to Germany's collapse and acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Whereas in the first two volumes his resentment is directed mainly against the Kaiser, in this it is against his successor, Bethmann-Hollweg, and the other officials whose blunders involved Germany in war, defeat, and humiliation. He can not forgive Bethmann for failing to seek the advice of one so wise and experienced as he himself. The most interesting chapters are those in which he explains how he would have avoided Bethmann's blunders in connection with the outbreak of the World War [cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.,* Oct., 1931]. S. B. F.

Further discussion of the military capacity of the German commander Falkenhayn is to be found in Hermann Wendt's excellent technical work, entitled *Verdun 1916: die Angriffe Falkenhayns im Maasgebiet mit Richtung auf Verdun als Strategisches Problem* (Berlin, Mittler, 1931).

In his *Thoughts on Germany* (New York, Macmillan, 1932, pp. x, 315, $3.50) Baron Richard von Kühlmann deals not merely with the present situation and its problems, but comments upon the policies which led to the war, the character of the peace settlement, and the efforts at reconstruction since 1919. He believes the liquidation of the Hapsburg monarchy to have been inevitable, and that it was a mistake for the post-Bismarckians to treat the Triple Alliance as final and static. The Bagdad Railway adventure, he thinks, was certain to cost more than it would come to. Another mistake of the German leaders, due to the great influence of Tirpitz with the Emperor William, was to attempt to build a fleet which seemed to the

British a menace to their security. Some of these ideas are not new, but the sanity of tone which pervades the book is noteworthy. Eric Sutton is the translator.

Articles: Karl G. Hugelmann, *Die Deutsche Nation und der Deutsche Nationalstaat im Mittelalter* (Hist. Jahrb., LI. 4); K. R. Fischer, *Ueber Böhmische Glasmacherzünfte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Mitteil. des Vereines für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXIX. 4); Friedrich Walter, *Kaunitz' Eintritt in die Innere Politik: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Innenpolitik in den Jahren 1760–1761* (Mitteil. des Oesterreich. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI. 1); Walter L. Dorn, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century,* [II.] (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.); J. Pfitzner, *Die Geschichtsbetrachtung der Tschechen und Deutschen in den Sudetenländern* (Hist. Zeitschr., Apr. 26); Gustav Roloff, *Bismarcks Friedensschlüsse mit den Süddeutschen im Jahre 1866* (*ibid.*); E. C. Helmreich, *Die Tieferen Ursachen der Politik Berchtolds im Oktober, 1912* (Berl. Monatshft., Mar.); Maximilian Claar, *Die Römische Mission des Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Botschafters von Mérey* (*ibid.*).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: Carlo Morandi, *Histoire d'Italie du XV^e^ au XVIII^e^ Siècle* (Rev. Hist., Jan.).

The revived interest in the baroque style of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives special significance to the work of Professor A. E. Brinckmann, entitled *Theatrum Novum Pedemontii: Ideen, Entwürfe, und Bauten von Guarini, Iuvarra, Vittone wie Anderen Bedeutenden Architekten des Piemontesischen Hochbarocks* (Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1931).

Fausto Nicolini has made an interesting study of *La Giovinezza di Giambattista Vico, 1668–1700* (Bari, Laterza, 1932).

Of interest to students of the early Risorgimento is A. Annibale's publication of the *Atti del Parlamento delle Due Sicile, 1820–1821;* vol. IV., *La Rivoluzione Napoletana, il suo Parlamento e la Reazione Europea;* vol. V., *La Rivoluzione Napol., Documenti,* pts. 1 and 2 (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1931, 3 vols., pp. cdx, 460; 451; 472).

In the *Memories* of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, vol. III. (Barcelona, 1930, pp. xvi, 601), J. Puig y Cadafalch publishes the fruit of a score of years of study on a large number of buildings in the Lombard style located in various European countries and erected during the eleventh century.

E. Lambert's *L'Art Gothique en Espagne aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ Siècles* shows how the French style penetrated its southern neighbor during the period under discussion (Paris, Laurens, 1931, pp. 314).

Articles: Alfredo Bacelli, *Il Machiavelli senza Panni Curiali* (N. Antol., Mar. 1); Marga Barazzoni, *Le Società Segrete Germaniche ed i loro Rapporti con i Cospiratori Lombardi del 1821* (Rassegna Stor. del Risorg., Jan.); Adolfo Colombo, *A Proposito di una Lettera Inedita di Giuseppe Mazzini al Sig. Soulé, Ambasciatore degli Stati Uniti a Madrid* (*ibid.*); Piero Zama, *Con Lodovico Caldesi alla Difesa di Vicenza e di Roma, 1848–1849: dall 'Epistolario Inedito* (*ibid.*); Pietro Orsi, *Antonio Gallenga, con Documenti Inediti* [1810–1895] (N. Antol., Mar. 1); Eugenio Lazzareschi, ed., *L'Autobiografia di Maria Teresa di Savoia* [1803–1879] (*ibid.*, Apr. 16); L. C. Alberti, *La Corte Pontificia vista dal Rappresentante Sardo a Roma, 1824–1836: Documenti* (Rassegna Stor. del Risorg., Jan.); Emilio Bellavita, *Ancora Qualche Documento in Difesa del Gen. Oreste Baratieri* [African campaign, 1895–1896] (N. Riv. Stor., Jan.).

NORTHERN EUROPE

Sverige, Ryssland, och England [Sweden, Russia, and England] by C. F. Palmstierna (Stockholm, 1932, pp. 408) is an academic dissertation of more than usual interest. The author's subject is the somewhat uneasy situation in the capitals of Sweden and Norway during the two decades following 1834 with respect to England on the one side and Russia on the other. The author traces the diplomatic negotiations through this period until the chapter comes to a close in the "November treaty" of 1855 in which England and France "undertook to guarantee the territorial integrity of the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway against Russian aggression". The volume includes a convenient and fairly adequate summary in English.

Carl von Bonsdorff's biography of *Gustav Mauritz Armfelt* has been continued into a second volume (Helsingfors, 1931, pp. 694). General Armfelt was the first governor-general of Finland during the Russian régime and contributed largely to the new institutional system that was devised by Alexander I.

Another important study in the history of the Finnish duchy is a biography by Ernst Estlander of *Friherre* [Baron] *Viktor Magnus von Born*, who was a prominent leader of the Swedish party in the last thirty years of Russian domination (Helsingfors, 1931, pp. 708).

The third part of Ludvig Daae's "parliamentary memoirs" (*Stortingserindringer*) covers the months of November, 1862, to March, 1863. The author seems to have been mildly conservative in his views but was apparently not closely associated with any political group. The work is of value not only as a record of what was done in parliament and in committees but for the picture that it gives of life in the Norwegian capital dur-

ing the 'sixties. It is published by the Norwegian Historical Society (Oslo, 1932).

Two recent volumes of the Berkshire Studies in European History are *Imperial Russia, 1801–1917*, by Michael Karpovich, of Harvard University, and *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1931*, by George Vernadsky, of Yale University (New York, Henry Holt, 1932, pp. viii, 106; viii, 133, $1.00 each). The deep interest felt at present in the problems of Russia, and the exceptional competence of the authors, should make these books of special value to the general reader as well as to the students for whom they are primarily designed.

Articles: Edvard Bull, *Registrum fra Bispestolen i Bergen* [Episcopal Register of the diocese of Bergen] (Scandia, 1932, I.); Lis Jacobsen, *Vikingetidens "Historiske" Danske Runindskrifter* [Danish runic inscriptions of historic interest dating from Viking times] (*ibid.*); Lauritz Weibull, *Dyvekekatastrofen och Torbern Oxe* [the tragic fate of Dyveke (favorite of Christian II.) and Torbern Oxe] (*ibid.*); R. A. Wrede, *En Kämpe för Rätt och Frihet* [a champion of right and freedom] (Finskt Tidskrift, 1932); J. M. Thompson, *The Fersen Papers and their Editors* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.). Éli F. Heckscher, *Un Grand Chapitre de l'Histoire du Fer: le Monopole Suédois.* Première partie (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.).

L. M. L.

FAR EAST

Several papers which Lord Meston presented in 1930 before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown have been published with some changes of form as *Nationhood for India* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1931, pp. vi, 112, $1.50).

The efforts of St. Francis Xavier and his successors to convert India make a fascinating, but little known, story. One chapter of it deals with the famous Italian Jesuit Nobili, who attempted to clarify Hindu misunderstandings by dissociating the concepts Christian and Portuguese and adopting certain native ascetic practices, which led to a violent attack by the Portuguese Jesuit Fernandez. This attack, together with Nobili's brilliant defense (one of the most important contributions to the problem of adapting a Western system to Oriental psychology) and the bull of Gregory XV. which ended the controversy are published by Father Dahmen under the title *Robert de Nobili, l'Apôtre des Brahmes: Première Apologie, 1610, Texte Inédit Latin traduit et annoté* (Paris, Spes, 1931, pp. 205).

An imperfectly known phase of missionary development in Japan before the Shoguns closed the country to foreigners and undertook to stamp out Christian communities is studied in *Das Schulwesen der Jesuiten in Japan, 1551–1614*, by P. Dorotheus Schilling, O. F. M. (Munster, Regensbergsche

Buchdruckerei, 1931, pp. xxviii, 86). It is based chiefly upon Portuguese and Spanish manuscripts and upon rare publications. It is accompanied by a full bibliography.

An interesting memorial of days long past is to be found in *Leaders of the Meiji Restoration in America* (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1931, pp. xiv, 388), which is an annotated edition, by Y. Okamura, of a volume published in 1872, of which Charles Lanman, then secretary of the Japanese legation, was editor. It opens with Lanman's account of the special Iwakura embassy of 1872. This is followed by a series of essays by Japanese students, one of which is on George Washington. A third section is a description of Life and Resources in America, by Arinori Mori. The new edition is furnished with biographical and historical notes by Professor Kodama, of Keio University.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: 79 papers of George W. Campbell, dated from 1793 to 1844; 86 papers of, or relating to, Charles Carroll, father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, dated from 1661 to 1771; papers and photostats of papers relating to Abraham Lincoln, 1849 to 1865; official papers of the United States War Department relating to the construction of Cumberland Road, etc.; letters from George Washburn Smalley to Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, 1895 to 1902; an account of "How Sherman's Army entered Raleigh, 1865", by Colonel Fred A. Olds; correspondence of Governor Henry A. Wise and Lieutenant Henry A. Wise, 1851, 1855 to 1857; photostats of letters from the Marquis de Lafayette to Thomas Clarkson, Antoine Laurent Thomas Vandoyer, and others, dated from 1779 to 1833.

The Department of State has issued a *Subject Index of the Treaty Series and the Executive Agreement Series*. The publication contains also numerical lists of the two series, with a list of the unperfected treaties, proclamations, and exchanges of notes which are printed in Malloy. The latter documents are not covered in the index.

Bulletins 105 and 107 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, have as their subjects *Notes on the Fox Wâpanōwiweni*, by Truman Michelson, and *Karuk Indian Myths*, by John P. Harrington.

Basil Blackwell, Oxford, has just published in pamphlet form the address of Professor H. Hale Bellot, delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of the study of American history at the University of London, Feb. 5, 1931, on the Commonwealth Fund foundation. This address on The Study of American History undertakes to point out the features of our national development which are of particular value to the British student. He visual-

izes the Revolution as being, in one of its phases, a struggle of the Whig against the growing power of the crown in Parliament—the struggle of fundamental law to maintain itself against the absolutism of the majority. As a result of the conflict, Professor Bellot says, each state established an assembly corresponding to the Parliament which had been repudiated, but the propertied interests took alarm and established the fundamental law of the Constitution. Later on, the struggle against slavery was an attack upon property and vested interests, and the situation which developed in Kansas strikingly illustrated the rule of the majority. "The victors of 1788 were the defeated in 1865. But the matter in issue was the same." With this crisis passed, the political issues give way in importance to an economic development. T. P. A.

Colonial Studies in the United States, by Lowell Joseph Ragatz, Ph. D. (London, Arthur Thomas, pp. 48), was originally prepared for the congress on colonial history held in Paris last year in connection with the Colonial Exposition. There is a preliminary survey, characterizing the leading works, followed by a comprehensive bibliography for the years 1900–1931.

Among the stimulating essays and addresses which belong to the Bicentennial year are: The Young Man George Washington, an address delivered by Samuel Eliot Morison at Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, on Feb. 22; George Washington and the English-Speaking Heritage, by Reginald G. Trotter, an offprint from *Queens Quarterly,* May; and The Farewell Address in the Twentieth Century, by St. George L. Sioussat, reprinted from the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle,* April.

In *The Naval Genius of George Washington,* a beautifully printed book (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1932, pp. 158), Captain Dudley W. Knox maintains that General Washington had a broad grasp of the principles of sea power and naval strategy, drawing his proof largely from the general's writings.

The volume entitled *Emotional Currents in American History,* by J. H. Denison (New York, Scribners, 1932, pp. xvi, 420, $5.00), is an attempt to restudy the course of our national experience as it has been affected by the force of ideas charged with emotion. The author believes that the influence of emotion has been more fundamental than the impulses that spring from economic conditions. He hints that each one of us may be little more than a "chip tossed about on these great psychic waves".

Swift change in modes of transportation seems characteristic of American economic development. The rise and fall of the suburban trolley line is a recent example. In *Turnpikes: a Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland* (Valdosta, Ga., Southern Stationery and Printing Company, 1931, pp. 188, $2.50) Dr. Joseph Austin

Durrenberger offers another illustration. The period of the toll road was roughly from 1800 to 1830, when the canal and the railroad began to supersede it. The author explains all phases of the movement, legislation, construction, traffic, and financing. The roads were left to companies or corporations to build and maintain. Commonly these companies controlled only a few miles of road. The highway from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, for example, was controlled by eight road and three bridge companies. Often subscribers of stock thought more of the advantage to their own community from better facilities than of dividends, which was fortunate, for dividends were small, occasional, or absent. Pennsylvania was the only state within the region that generously subsidized the companies by taking shares of the stock.

Vol. VI. of *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* edited by Theodore C. Blegen, is made up of studies among which are the following: Norwegians in the Selkirk Settlement, by Paul Knaplund; Claus L. Clausen, Pioneer Pastor and Settlement Promoter: Illustrative Documents, translated and edited by Carlton C. Qualey; The Campaign of the Illinois Central Railroad for Norwegian and Swedish Immigrants, by Paul W. Gates; The Convention Riot at Benson Grove, Iowa, in 1876, by Laurence M. Larson; Norwegian Migration to America before the Civil War, by Brynjolf J. Hovde; and Some Recent Publications relating to Norwegian-American History, pt. 2, compiled by Jacob Hodnefield. Based as these studies are upon collections of documentary material, they are a substantial contribution to the general subject of immigration.

A *General Index,* compiled by Eva G. Moore (New York, Macmillan, 1932, pp. v, 155, $2.00), appears as a supplementary volume of Edward Channing's *History of the United States.* Such an index was in the plan of Professor Channing and will be a great service in the utilization of his volumes.

In its *News Service Bulletin,* vol. II., no. 32, the Carnegie Institution of Washington has published a paper by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett answering the question, Who was the First President of the United States?

An important phase of national development is discussed in *Government by Cooperation,* by Emerson D. Fite (New York, Macmillan, 1932, pp. vii, 345, $3.00). Although the treatment is mainly descriptive and deals with problems of the day, illustrations are drawn from the earlier periods of our history. It is a study of tendencies as well as of conditions.

Articles: Marguerite Appleton, *Richard Partridge: Colonial Agent* (New Eng. Quar., Apr.); John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorists in America* (Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Dec.); Julian P. Boyd, *Roger Sherman: Cordwainer Statesman* (New Eng. Quar., Apr.); Patrick J. Dignan, *Peter Anthony Malou, Patriot and Priest, 1753–1827* (Records of the Am.

Cath. Hist. Soc., Dec.); Merle E. Curti, *Robert Rantoul, Jr.* (New Eng. Quar., Apr.); Watt Stewart, *George Bancroft, Historian of the American Republic* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); Randall Stewart, *Hawthorne and Politics* (New Eng. Quar., Apr.); Bertha-Monica Stearns, *Southern Magazines for Ladies, 1819–1860* (South Atlantic Quar., Jan.); Lota M. Spell, *Samuel Bangs, the First Printer in Texas* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.); Beverley W. Bond, jr., *American Civilization comes to the Old Northwest* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); Angie Debo, *Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.); Frederic L. Paxson, *The Agricultural Surplus: a Problem in History* (Agric. Hist., Apr.); Edgar B. Wesley, *The Government Factory System among the Indians, 1795–1822* (Jour. of Ec. and Bus. Hist., May); Henrietta M. Larson, *E. W. Clark and Co., 1837–1857* (*ibid.*); Nancy Ring, *The First Mission of the Sioux* (Mid-America, Apr.); Jaime de Angulo and Béclard d'Harcourt, *La Musique des Indiens de la Californie du Nord* (Jour. de la Soc. des Américanistes, XXIII. 1); J. Orin Oliphant, *The Cattle Trade from the Far Northwest to Montana* (Agric. Hist., Apr.); James C. Malin, *Colonel Harvey and his Forty Thieves* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); Walter R. Gardner, *Central Gold Reserves, 1926–1931* (Am. Ec. Rev., Mar.).

NEW ENGLAND

In the *New England Quarterly* for April appears A Bibliography of New England, 1931, by Allyn B. Forbes.

A senior honors thesis in history, entitled *The Fur Trade in New England,* by Mr. Francis X. Moloney, class of 1931, has been published by Harvard University on the Herbert Nathan Straus fund (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1931, pp. 150). Scholarly, well-written, attractively printed, it helps to fill a gap which has existed in the history of the colonial frontiers. V. W. C.

The George Washington Bicentennial Commission of New Hampshire has made an appropriate contribution to the year of anniversary in a volume entitled *George Washington in New Hampshire* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, for the Commission, 1932, pp. xv, 95, $2.00). The author is Elwin L. Page. He gives an account of Washington's visit to Portsmouth while on his "trip to the eastward" in 1789. He uses the records in Washington's diary as the thread, and adds information about the roads, the streets of Portsmouth, the houses and their owners. He draws comments on the place from other travelers, notably the Marquis de Chastellux. All ceremonious occasions are described carefully, with the reprint of patriotic odes and addresses. Upon Washington's return journey he stopped a few hours at Exeter, passed through Haverhill, near which he crossed into Massachusetts. The book is well illustrated, the frontispiece being a reproduction of the

painting by Christian Gullagher, to whom Washington gave a sitting in Portsmouth.

In the December number of the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society is a paper by Mrs. Mary F. Charlton on the Crown Point Road. Mrs. Charlton has spent many years gathering materials on the history and location of the road and the results are embodied in this paper.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has published an *Index* to vols. I.–XXV., 1892–1924 (Boston, the Society, 1932, pp. xvi, 293). It is admirably complete and will facilitate the use of the seven volumes of *Collections* and the eighteen volumes of *Transactions* which make up the series. The chairman of the committee on publication is Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, and the editor is Dr. Kenneth Ballard Murdock.

The Essex Institute *Historical Collections* (April) contains an article by William H. Bowden on the Commerce of Marblehead, 1665–1775.

Jottings from Worcester's History, by U. Waldo Cutler, is a collection of brief sketches which originally appeared in *This Week in Worcester.* The volume is published by the Worcester Historical Society (Worcester, 1932, pp. viii, 142, $1.50). It deals with incidents in the history of the city from its first settlement in 1673. Ch. XIII. emphasizes the work which the society is doing through its library and museum.

The April number of the Worcester Historical Society *Publications* contains three articles on phases of Worcester history, including one, by William Woodward, on Firearms: their Evolution and Worcester's Part therein, a business identified with Worcester for more than a century.

The Rhode Island State Bureau of Information has recently added to its series of Historical Publications as nos. 4, 5, and 6: *Rhodes Island and the Sea,* of which Mr. Howard W. Preston, the director, is the author, and which tells, chiefly from documentary sources, the story of Rhode Island shipping in the colonial period; *Washington's Visits to Rhode Island,* with a route map; and *Autograph Letters and Documents of George Washington now in Rhode Island Collections,* including, besides letters in the state archives, twenty-six from the collection of Mr. Frederick S. Peck, and a smaller group from the collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently issued, as a volume apart from its regular series of *Collections* and in a different format, a small publication, entitled *Some Early Records and Documents of and relating to the Town of Windsor, Connecticut, 1639–1703.* It is edited by the society's librarian, Mr. Albert C. Bates, and contains papers that have been for three-quarters of a century in the society's custody. The list included a body of church records, 1639–1717, commonly known as the "Matthew Grant Rec-

ords", that take up half the volume and are valuable chiefly for local and genealogical purposes; a few pages of town records, 1641–1642, dealing with fences, highways, and stray animals, evidently from a lost volume of the earliest votes or orders of the town, a precious survival, in view of the fact that the existing town votes do not begin until 1650; lists of freemen, 1669, 1673, of importance for the history of the corporate government, and, finally, a collection of papers relating to the controversy in the Windsor Church over the adoption of the Halfway Covenant, 1669–1679, of which an incomplete account is given in Stiles, *Ancient Windsor*. Of the documents printed in the volume Dr. Stiles had access only to the church records; he does not appear to have used or even to have known of the others. C. M. A.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the March *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library are two valuable bibliographical contributions: Shelekhov's Voyage to Alaska, by Avrahm Yarmolinsky; and French Travellers in the United States, 1765–1931, by Frank Monaghan. The second list is continued in the April number.

The April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains an article by William H. Richardson on Washington and the New Jersey Campaign of 1776, with particular attention to the organization and services of the "Flying Camp" and the service of General Hugh Mercer. A paper of especial interest is one by Thomas Kearny on Commodore Lawrence Kearny and the Open Door and Most Favored Nation Policy in China in 1842 to 1843. The paper is based on newly discovered Chinese documents from which numerous quotations are made.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* includes in its April number an address of Dr. Isaac R. Pennypacker on Washington and Lincoln, which emphasizes in particular the "underlying characteristics common to both", but at the same time points out some divergencies. To the same issue Joseph Jackson contributes a paper entitled Washington in Philadelphia, recording the significant facts connected with Washington's numerous contacts with the city, which began as early as 1756. The paper of Harrold E. Gillingham, Some Colonial Ships Built in Philadelphia, is a contribution of value for the history of an industry that had its beginnings soon after the arrival of William Penn.

The quarterly magazine *Now and Then*, published at Muncy, Pa., has in its issue for the quarter April-June an article, with plans, etc., by the editor, T. Kenneth Wood, on Fort Muncy (built in 1778).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

General review: W. H. Stephenson, *The South lives in History: a Decade of Historical Investigation* (Hist. Outlook, Apr.).

Significant tendencies in the economic life of a middle colony are discussed by Paul H. Giddens in an article entitled Trade and Industry in Colonial Maryland, which appears in the May number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*. The period described is from 1753 to 1769. One of the elements of progress was the growth of a commercial class in Baltimore which rendered the planter less directly dependent on the English merchant. Agriculture also became more diversified. Like other colonies, however, Maryland had difficulty in finding money to pay its balances.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has a lively and sympathetic sketch, by DeCourcy W. Thom, of Captain Lambert Wickes, famous naval commander in the Revolution. In the same number is printed a letter from President Lincoln to Henry W. Hoffman, Oct. 10, 1864, with regard to the ratification of the new Maryland constitution.

The progress made in the inventory of historical materials for the state of Virginia is recorded in the *First Annual Report* (1930–1931) of Dr. Lester J. Cappon, archivist of the library of the University of Virginia. It is interesting to note that the inventory is to include not only official documents, but also records of business organizations, social clubs, educational institutions, and churches. The first counties to be surveyed were selected for their historical interest. At the same time they were samples of widely separated regions. These counties were Albemarle (Piedmont), Frederick (Shenandoah), Essex (Tidewater), Pittsylvania (Southside), Wythe (Southwest), and Northampton (Eastern Shore). In all this effort the rule is cooperation. While the university library may be regarded as an ideal place of deposit, this does not exclude the decision that particular records may best be deposited elsewhere, with local colleges or historical societies.

A Census of the Copies of Hariot's Virginia, 1588 Quarto, by Randolph G. Adams, has been reprinted from the Introduction of the facsimile, *Quarto Hariot's Virginia,* published by Edwards Brothers of Ann Arbor in 1931.

The January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by Paul H. Giddens, on Arthur Lee, First United States Envoy to Spain. Two articles of especial interest, begun in the January number, are concluded in that of April. These are: William Byrd and the Royal Society, by Maud H. Woodfin; and the First American Steamboat: James Rumsey its Inventor, Not John Fitch, a contribution of Lieutenant Commander H. A. Gosnell. Byrd was elected to the Royal Society in 1696 and maintained an active connection with that group of intellectuals during the remainder of his life. Only one other Virginian, it appears, was ever made a member of the society, namely, Dr. Arthur Lee, who was chosen in 1766. Lieutenant Commander Gosnell marshals his evidence in behalf of Rumsey in a convincing manner.

The January number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains an article on Early Public Schools of Norfolk and Vicinity, by L. Minerva Turnbull. The April number contains another of Colonel J. W. Wright's contributions to our knowledge of the Continental Army; an article by Arthur G. Peterson, of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, on the Alexandria Market prior to the Civil War; and a further installment of the letters from Thomas Jefferson to William Short.

The April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* includes a discussion of the Beating of Sumner: How New England furnished the Precedent; and an article on Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, consisting mainly in the reprinting of two letters from Carter to Washington, May 9 and Oct. 31, 1776.

The volume of the *Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925–1929,* edited by David Leroy Corbitt, chief library assistant, North Carolina Historical Commission (Raleigh, Council of State, 1931, pp. xxvii, 921), contains messages, proclamations, addresses, statements and interviews for the press, public letters and telegrams, memoranda on the budget, and a list of appointments. It is prefaced by a sketch of Governor McLean written by William H. Richardson.

A Checklist of United States Newspapers (and Weeklies before 1900) in the General Library, pt. I., *Alabama-Georgia,* has been issued by the Duke University Libraries. It was compiled by Mary Westcott and Allene Ramage, and the introduction is by Professor W. K. Boyd.

In an article on Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861–1865, in the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review,* Elizabeth Yates Webb recounts the state's efforts to manufacture clothing for its own troops and something besides for the Confederacy. One handicap was the difficulty of obtaining necessary machinery, particularly replacing that which had worn out; another was the state's regulation of prices. Nevertheless, a good many factories survived the war period. Benjamin Hawkins and the Federal Factory System, by George D. Harmon, is a study of the Federal government's plans, during Washington's administration, for supplying the needs of the Indians, plans in which Hawkins as Indian agent played a prominent part. Ralph B. Flanders gives an account of an Experiment in Louisiana Sugar, 1829–1833.

Among the articles in the April number of the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record* is one, by Colonel Fred A. Olds, on the Development of North Carolina Railroads.

Missionary Ridge is a name familiar even to schoolchildren, but the mission with which the name originated is a forgotten incident in the his-

tory of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This was the Brainerd mission, which is the subtitle of a volume on *Torchlights to the Cherokees,* by Robert Sparks Walker (New York, Macmillan, 1931, pp. xi, 339, $3.00). The author, who has known the region of the mission since childhood, has drawn his material from the records of the American Board. The tale he tells is also part of the tragic story of the mistreatment of the Cherokees by the state of Georgia.

A charming picture of life along the Georgia coast under the old régime is given by Caroline Couper Lovell in *The Golden Isles of Georgia* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1932, pp. viii, 300, $3.00). It is based upon materials collected by the late Captain Charles Spalding Wylly, of Darien, and other memorials and family papers. The glimpses of plantation management are especially instructive. Perhaps the most successful administrator of the plantations which are described was James Hamilton Couper, of Hopeton.

In the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* H. B. Fant discusses the Labor Policy of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. The trustees began with a policy of excluding negroes and slavery but soon discovered that "charity" colonists could not be transformed into rugged conquerors of the wilderness. W. McDowell Rogers relates the history of Free Negro Legislation in Georgia before 1865, and J. G. Johnson tells briefly the story of the Spanish Southeast in the Seventeenth Century.

In the January number of the Florida Historical Society *Quarterly,* Kathryn T. Abbey relates the Story of the Lafayette Lands in Florida. One part of the contribution of the United States to Lafayette in reward for his services was a tract of land in the public domain, which Lafayette located in Florida and which did not pass entirely out of the control of the family until 1856. Slavery in East Florida, 1776–1785, is a study by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert and is in continuation of his paper, Slavery and White Servitude in East Florida, 1726–1776, which appeared in the *Quarterly* of July, 1931.

The principal articles, aside from continuations, in the April number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are: The Cause and Results of the Revolution of 1768 in Louisiana, by James E. Winston, and the Diplomatic Career of Pierre Soulé, by J. A. Reinecke, jr. Professor Winston's study is based chiefly on unpublished documents which will from time to time appear in the *Quarterly.* Mr. Reinecke draws an intimate portrait of Soulé, "a soul athirst for power and glory". Minister to Spain under President Pierce, he had sought the appointment, Mr. Reinecke contends, for the purpose of achieving the acquisition of Cuba, an acquisition which he believed to be necessary for the prosperity of the South and particularly for

that of Louisiana. The project was worse than a failure and the diplomat's reward was ridicule and denunciation.

In the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for May an article on Early Business Methods in the Texas Cattle Industry, by T. J. Cauley, explains the difficulties in marketing Texas cattle up to the time when Swift and Armour established themselves at Fort Worth. The evolution of trail driving is described as in three stages, "the early grower-drover stage, the purchase-drover stage, and the completely specialized drover stage". The final result was the spread of "cow culture" over the entire Northwest.

WESTERN STATES

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society prints in the April issue the Early History of Madison County, a manuscript of the late William Chenault. It is edited by J. T. Dorris.

The address of Louis A. Warren before the Filson Club in December last on the Religious Background of the Lincoln Family appears in the January number of the *Filson Club History Quarterly*. Mr. Warren has gathered into this paper the principal facts pertaining to the religious environment in which Abraham Lincoln and his American forbears lived, from Hingham, Mass., in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, to Illinois in the nineteenth. Probably the great majority of Americans who can trace their lines back that distance could point to a very similar succession of environments. The April number contains an article by Mrs. Arthur T. McCormack on Our Pioneer Heroine of Surgery: Mrs. Jane Todd Crawford.

The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (January) contains a study, by W. Neil Franklin, of Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673–1752, a trade which, by the beginning of the eighteenth century had attained considerable proportions and came to have important political as well as economic consequences. As one phase of the relations with the Cherokees, Dr. Samuel C. Williams writes the story of Fort Robinson on the Holston, the fort built by Andrew Lewis in 1761. Marguerite B. Hamer recounts the political career of John Rhea of Tennessee (1753–1831), participant in Tennessee politics from territorial days and member of Congress from 1802 to 1823 (excepting one term, 1815–1816). The Political Background of the Revolt against Jackson in Tennessee, a movement which manifested itself in discontent as early as 1823 but did not attain the intensity of a revolt until 1834–1835, is discussed by Powell Moore. An intimate sketch of William G. Brownlow as Editor, with numerous quotations from his vitriolic pen, is furnished by Vernon M. Queener. The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, an enterprise pro-

jected as early as 1831 but consummated barely in time for the road to perform its great strategic service in the preservation of the Union, is related by James W. Holland. W. B. Hesseltine discourses upon Tennessee's Invitation to Carpet-Baggers; that is to say, the efforts of the state to induce immigrants from the North. Documentary publications are: letters of Governor William Blount, 1790–1795, edited by P. H. Hamer; and the Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier, 1798, edited by Samuel C. Williams.

The *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* published by Goshen College, has in the January number an article by John Umble on the Fairfield County (Ohio) Background of the Allen County (Ohio) Mennonite Settlement, 1799–1860. In the same number are two reports concerning the Mennonities in America, one in 1831, the other in 1841, both by Jacob Krehbiel, a Mennonite preacher of Primerhof in the Palatinate. The documents are translated and edited by Harold S. Bender.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* (April number) of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio contains two articles by the late Harvey W. Compton, namely, the Founders of New France, and the Exploration of the Northwest.

The biography of *Simon Bruté de Rémur, first Bishop of Vincennes,* by Sister Mary Salesia Godecker, O.S.B., Ph.D. (St. Meinrad, Ind., St. Meinrad Historical Essays, 1931, pp. xliii, 441, $4.00) is of importance both for the light which it throws on the early history of the Catholic Church in Indiana and for the picture it presents of an ecclesiastic whose experience was unusually interesting. Bishop Bruté's childhood was passed in Brittany. As a boy and young man he saw the Revolutionary upheaval and the rise of the Empire. He came to the United States in 1810 because of his interest in missionary effort, working in Maryland until 1834, when he was chosen bishop of Vincennes.

Vol. IX., no. 6, of the *Indiana History Bulletin* is a monograph on *Indiana County Government,* by Harold C. Feightner (Indianapolis, Historical Bureau, 1932, pp. 402).

The Indiana Historical Society plans to publish in the near future a collection of the papers of Jonathan Jennings, first governor of the state of Indiana. The society would be grateful for information concerning the whereabouts of any letters of Jennings.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains an article by H. P. Walker on the Louisville and Portland Canal, the canal necessitated by the falls of the Ohio. The story is a characteristic one—private enterprise, with an admixture of politics, success for a time, then, with the coming of the railroads, decline. A documentary publication is

the Civil War diary of Jabez T. Cox, which covers the period from May 12 to Aug. 29, 1864. Cox's company, one of those recruited for a hundred days, saw service in Tennessee.

The *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society of October, 1931, contains a biography of Dr. Charles Chandler (1806–1879), by Josephine Craven Chandler, and some Civil War letters of Winthrop S. G. Allen, 1861–1863, contributed by Harry E. Pratt. The January number includes an article by Professor Frederic L. Paxson on Washington and the Western Fronts, 1753–1795; one by John H. Hauberg on United States Army Surgeons at Fort Armstrong; and an account, by Rev. John O. Foster, of the camp meeting conducted at Des Plaines, Ill., in August, 1860. Professor Paxson's study brings forcibly to mind the fact that in very great measure Washington's career was devoted to winning, protecting, and developing the empire of the Western fronts.

The William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, has acquired two collections of manuscripts relating to the American Revolution. The papers of William Knox, undersecretary of state for the colonies, 1770–1782, have been purchased from a descendant of that official, Captain Howard V. Knox, of Oxford. These manuscripts have been partially calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (*Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections,* 1909, VI. 81–296, 440–449). The collection consists of approximately 620 documents of which 500 are calendared. Among the manuscripts is the well-known document in which Knox fixes upon his superior, Lord George Germain, the responsibility for the failure of Howe and Burgoyne to coöperate in the summer of 1777. For a detailed description, the reader is referred to the calendar.

The other collection consists of letters, journals, logs, diaries, reports, etc., written by Hessian officers serving in the American Revolution and sent to General Friedrich Christian Arnold, Baron von Jungkenn, then minister of war of Hesse-Cassel. This collection totals 706 folio and 1280 quarto pages and was acquired from the descendants of Baron von Jungkenn. Among the 432 letters, there are 18 by Knyphausen and 170 by other generals—many by Lossberg, Knyphausen's successor. There are 297 by lesser officers holding the rank of colonel or major. Of these last, the most important, certainly the most enlightening, are the 80 reports written in the form of a journal, by Major Carl von Baurmeister, adjutant general to the commander in chief. Probably the most interesting of the diaries is that of Captain Johannes Hinrich. It covers the Southern campaign from December, 1779, to June, 1780. These Hessian papers, apparently a full record of the events between 1776 and 1783, are of special interest to the historian because of the frank, unofficial, frequently intimate, tone in which

they are written. The observations on the social conditions and characteristics of the Americans are important. R. G. A.

Dr. Paul S. Taylor continues his studies of Mexican immigration with a monograph on *Mexican Labor in the United States, Chicago and Calumet Region* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1932, pp. vii, 25–284, 6 maps).

The *Michigan History Magazine,* spring number, includes an article by George B. Catlin entitled Washington looks Westward, an examination of Washington's interest in Western development; and one by Willis F. Dunbar on the Burr "Conspiracy" and the Old Northwest. After a survey of the principal facts in the case the author concludes that, "far from being a 'shady venture' the westerners regarded the Burr expedition as a crusade in behalf of the Union", that there was far less separatism in evidence in the West than in any other part of the Union.

To commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the treaty of Sept. 21, 1832, which ceded to the United States a large tract of land west of the Mississippi River, the State Historical Society of Iowa has published a reprint of the 1834 edition of the *Life of Black Hawk, Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak.* It will be recalled that the story was dictated by Black Hawk, translated by Antoine LeClaire, an Indian interpreter, and written out by J. B. Patterson.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a paper by Merrill G. Burlingame on the Contribution of Iowa to the Formation of the State Government of California in 1849. One of the influences was personal, for there were a good many Iowans in California at the time the state government was organized; but the contribution which is here particularly traced is the extensive use made of the Iowa constitution of 1846 in the formation of the California constitution. William J. Petersen contributes to this number an article on Indians and the Steamboats on the Upper Mississippi.

In the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Herman J. Deutsch discusses the Disintegrating Forces in Wisconsin Politics in the Early Seventies. The story is a good sample of state politics in the period, which means that it is not inspiring. The section of Documents includes a number of letters from Norwegian immigrants, 1857–1862.

The *Year Book* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee for 1930 (Milwaukee, 1932, pp. 322) contains among other contributions, an illustrated account, by W. C. McKern, of New Excavations in Wisconsin Hopewell Mounds and a list of Indian Place Names in Wisconsin, by Huron H. Smith. The Museum has also issued nos. 4 and 5 of its bulletin:

Exceptional Prehistoric Copper Implements, by George A. West, and *Certain Mounds and Village Sites of Shawano and Oconto Counties,* by S. A. Barrett and Alanson Skinner. Vol. IV., no. 3, of the *Bulletin* of the Public Museum has the subject of the *Ethnobotany of the Ojibwe Indians.* It is contributed by Huron H. Smith. There are thirty-two plates.

Harold F. Peterson's paper on Early Minnesota Railroads and the Quest for Settlers, which appears in the March number of *Minnesota History,* calls attention to the period when, in sharp contrast to our own time, the national government, as well as the states and the railroads, exerted great energy and even ingenuity to lure settlers to vacant lands. In an article on the Local Historian and the Newspaper, Carl L. Weicht emphasizes the value of newspaper records for local history and even suggests the possibility of harmonious collaboration between the newspaper and the historian.

The *Kansas Historical Quarterly* prints in the May issue General James G. Blunt's account of his Civil War experiences. Blunt saw service in Missouri, Arkansas, and Indian Territory, as well as in Kansas, and this account was written as a report to Colonel J. T. Anderson, adjutant general of Kansas, in 1866.

The March number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains the concluding installment of the study by the late Dr. Arthur J. Flynn, entitled Furs and Forts of the Rocky Mountain West. The fur traders were the real pioneers of the region, and the relation between furs and forts was actual, not merely alliterative. In the May number Leon W. Fuller examines a Populist Newspaper of the Nineties, *The Aspen Union Era,* and LeRoy R. Hafen presents a survey of the Claims and Jurisdictions over the Territory of Colorado prior to 1861. The latter article is illustrated with maps.

Among the articles in the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are some reminiscences of Clarence W. Turner, entitled Events among the Muskogees during Sixty Years; a biographical account, by John B. Meserve, of Chief Isparhecher, a Creek chieftain whose career "zigzagged from the depths of defeat to the heights of attainment"; and the third installment of Joe B. Milam's history of the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains the first part of a study, by Ruth K. Barber, of Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies. The author does not attempt to settle the controversial question, whether the statement of Las Casas respecting the exploitation of the Indians is correct, but aims rather to give a general view of the subject, particularly as revealed in the legislation. Commercial Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period is the subject of a study by Lillian E. Fisher. With the breakdown of the mercantile system Spain was compelled to modify the monopolistic methods in favor of a less restricted commerce, with evident beneficial results.

Professor Rufus K. Wyllys, of Arizona State Teachers College, contributes to the April number of the *Arizona Historical Review* a study of Kino of Pimeria Alta: Apostle of the Southwest.

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery of San Marino, Calif., has issued a commentary, entitled *George Washington, 1732–1932,* upon the material now upon exhibition there.

Rate Theories and the California Railroad Commission, by D. F. Pegrum, is the subject of vol. X. of the University of California Publications in Economics (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1932, pp. vii, 165).

The *Oregon Historical Quarterly* includes in the March number the first installment of a paper by Robert W. Sawyer on the Abbot Railroad Surveys, 1855. The surveys which form the subject of the paper were those made in California and Oregon by Lieutenant (afterward General) Henry Larcom Abbot, U. S. A., and it is his diary of the survey and his letters which constitute the basis of this paper. Columbia River Exploration, 1792, is a contribution of J. Neilson Barry, of which only the first part appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

An article of especial interest in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is Amor DeCosmos: a British Columbia Reformer, by Margaret Ross. The name, Amor DeCosmos, sounds fictitious, and it was adopted in place of William Alexander Smith. For many years, beginning about 1858, DeCosmos was an editor and political leader in British Columbia, contending for responsible government. What Mining has done for British Columbia is a survey of the mining industry by Dale L. Pitt.

No. 19 of the *Papers* of the Hawaiian Historical Society is *The Hawaiian King Mo-I, Alii-Aimoku, Alii-Kapu,* by John F. G. Stokes, curator of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

CANADA

The *Report* of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada, by Arthur G. Doughty, keeper of the records, contains besides the statement of accessions of manuscripts and maps an appendix in which is continued the calendar of state papers, addressed by the secretaries of state for the colonies to the governors-general and other administrators of Lower Canada. The present installment covers the years from 1830 to 1838.

Professor H. A. Innis, author of *The Fur Trade in Canada* (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXVI. 177) in the course of his studies of the history of the Northwest Company became interested in the work of Peter Pond, who, although a Connecticut Yankee, was an empire builder for Canada. This interest prompted the writing of a biographical sketch entitled *Peter Pond, Fur Trader and Adventurer* (Toronto, Irwin and Gordon, 1930, pp. xi, 153,

$3.00). It is based upon Pond's journal, part of which has appeared in the Wisconsin Historical Collection. There is also a certain amount of contemporary comment, but this is fragmentary and biased.

M. Constantin-Weyer has published in the Plon series of Grandes Figures Coloniales, a biography of *Champlain* (Paris, 1931, pp. ix, 240, 15 fr.). It is designed, through a study of the aims and accomplishments of the life of the great French explorer and colonizer, to combat the traditional view that France in the New World succeeded in establishing only "la Féodalité, la Monarchie et Rome".

Articles: W. B. Kerr, *The Merchants of Nova Scotia and the American Revolution* (Can. Hist. Rev., Mar.); Chester Martin, *British Policy in Canadian Confederation* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The Temple of the Warriors, by Earl H. Morris (New York, Scribners, 1931, pp. xii, 251, $5.00), offers a graphic account of the excavation and restoration of a temple which the author regards as a "Masterpiece of Native American Architecture". It was found in the ruined Maya city of Chichen Itzá, Yucatan. The work lasted from 1925 to 1928. The book is fully illustrated.

A valuable guide to the public documents of the countries concerned is *The Memorias of the Republics of Central America and of the Antilles,* by James B. Childs, chief of the catalogue division of the Library of Congress, formerly chief of the division of documents (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1932, pp. v, 170). At the head of the list for each state are given in chronological order the essential facts in regard to the organization of the bodies which have issued documents. Under the documents themselves there are often helpful explanatory notes.

Professor William Spence Robertson's *History of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, Appleton, 1932, pp. xvii, 821, $5.00), of which the latest edition appeared two years ago, has again been revised and is now substantially enlarged, nearly two hundred pages being added. The general plan is retained, but the subject matter is arranged in twenty-five rather than twenty chapters. Events as late as those of 1931 receive comment.

Most of the original articles in the July-December, 1931, number of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Buenos Aires) deal with local matters such as The Claim of Antonio José del Texo to the Island of Martín García, The Colonial Hospital of Jujuy in the XVII. and XVIII. Centuries, and A Project of Governor Bucareli for improving Barranca Street and Alameda Avenue in Buenos Aires. In the section devoted to documents, excerpts are printed from letters found in the Archivo General

de Indias (Seville) indicating that as early as 1740 the Spanish government feared a British attempt to seize the La Plata provinces. Official information was received by the Count of Montijo, Spanish ambassador to France, that an expedition of seven hundred men under Admiral Anson was being prepared for that purpose. R. R. Caillet Bois is the author of this article as well as of one about a report referring to the plans of Artigas, toward the end of 1812, with respect to Paraguay. From the documents quoted therein it is evident that Artigas contemplated a union or at least a defensive alliance between Uruguay and Paraguay against oppression by Buenos Aires or Brazil. The only reference to publications received from the United States of America is to the *Proceedings of the Twenty Third International Congress of Americanists,* held at New York, Sept. 17–22, 1928. A sixty-four page inventory of published documents is bound with this number as a supplement to vol. XIII. of the *Boletín.*

Vol. IV., *Indice de Documentos de Nueva España, existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla,* continues the list of documents of the Casa de Contratación pertaining to New Spain now preserved in the Archives of the Indies at Seville.

Among the recent publications announced by the Pan American Union are three twenty-five cent pamphlets entitled *Seeing South America, Seeing the Latin Republics of North America,* and *Viajando por los Estados Unidos.* The last is intended for the use of residents of Latin America who may contemplate a visit to the United States and for Spanish language students in the United States.

The *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano de 1931* is published by the ministry of foreign relations of Mexico to furnish to foreigners an index of Mexican accomplishments in literature, science, and the arts, and as a guide to the cultural development of Mexico. Although the names of 635 Mexican authors, whose works were published during 1931, appear in this volume, the index is incomplete because of the failure of many authors and publishers to comply with the law requiring that copies of all works published be furnished to the National Library.

The division of archives and library of the Ministerio de Relaciones y Culto of the Argentine Republic publishes a monthly international bulletin of Argentine bibliography of which nos. 10, 11, and 12, for August, September, and October, 1931, are at hand. This bibliography is especially valuable for the summaries and criticisms of the books mentioned therein. At the end of the discussion of each book there follows a list of works by the same author. Apparently all the authors included are Argentinians, but their books deal with many subjects beside those pertaining to their native land.

Nos. 48 and 49 (1931) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Caracas) contains the usual summaries of documents indexed and codified in the several divisions of the archives. The former number also enumerates the work which has been accomplished in these archives during the ten years of the incumbency of the present director, Dr. Vicente Dávila. This work has consisted in sorting, arranging, binding, and indexing some 4350 volumes of manuscripts; editing the *Boletín* of the National Archives and the *Boletín* of the National Academy of History; writing and publishing the following works: *Investigaciones Históricas* (2 vols.), *Diccionario Biográfico de Ilustres Proceres* (2 vols.), *Hojas Militares* (vol. I.), *Don Sancho Briceño, Acciones de Guerra,* and *San Sebastian de los Reyes;* and in distributing books, exchanges, and information to correspondents in Venezuela and twenty-eight foreign countries.

The October-December, 1931, issue (no. 56) of the *Boletín de la Académia Nacional de la História* (Caracas) is devoted chiefly to an account of the Matos conspiracy, containing numerous documents from the collection of the eminent Venezuelan bibliographer, Manuel Segundo Sánchez. In his introduction, the author, Dr. Vicente Lecuna, discusses the attitude of Bolívar toward this conspiracy which did so much for the establishment of the first Venezuelan republic of 1810.

The report of a committee of the Academy of History of Cuba to select for use at the coming exposition in Chicago, the names of the five Cuban women who have been most noteworthy for their intelligence and patriotism, is published in the *Anales de la Académia de la História de Cuba,* vol. XIII., 1931.

Articles: Peter P. Forrestal, *Venerable Antonio Margil de Jesus* (Mid-America, Apr.); Isaac Joslin Cox, *Hispanic-American Phases of the "Burr Conspiracy"* (Hispan. Am. Rev., May); Alan K. Manchester, *The Paradoxical Pedro, First Emperor of Brazil* (*ibid.*).

A. H.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by T. P. Abernethy, R. G. Adams, C. M. Andrews, S. F. Bemis, T. C. Blegen, G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, C. P. Cheyney, E. M. Curtis, Alfred Hasbrouck, L. M. Larson, Frederick Merk, C. O. Paullin.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SECTIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

In accordance with the late Professor Turner's wish, twelve of his essays relating to sections in the United States have been gathered together and reprinted as a companion volume to *The Frontier in American History*. He himself indicated the material to be included, and the volume embodies the important contributions which he made to a study of this subject. Dr. Max Farrand has done the editing with scrupulous care. The only corrections are Turner's own; the more important of his marginal notes and suggestions have been included as footnotes. *Fall, 1932*

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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Many years of research have gone into the making of this detailed and authoritative work. The author has given the background and setting of the Revolution, and then has proceeded to a careful study and analysis of its causes, its events, and its constantly widening effect. Special attention has been devoted to the interaction of France upon Europe and of Europe on France, an interplay of forces that was a predominant feature of the times. Written with Professor Hazen's usual fluency and interest of style. In two volumes. *In press*

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Book Notes from Columbia University Press

AMONG the many subjects of history and social science, nationalism is, perhaps, the most confusing and engrossing at the present time. Columbia University Press alone has published a dozen volumes which deal with the subject, directly or indirectly—Carlton J. H. Hayes' FRANCE, A NATION OF PATRIOTS being the most notable contribution. A recent publication is John H. Wuorinen's NATIONALISM IN MODERN FINLAND, a thorough discussion of Finnish political philosophy and the consequences of the nationalist movement. How the ideals and objectives of a handful of zealous patriots were transformed into vital nationalist creeds accepted by a substantial part of the Finnish citizenry and reflected in the recent intellectual, social, and political history of the country is a story of immediate interest to the modern historian. Furthermore, the history of Finland contains a good deal of material illustrative of the manner in which modern nationalism has shaped the course of the lesser nations of Western Europe.[1]

It is commonly understood that there is no field of literature or history which research has not given a thorough ploughing. Charles Ripley Gillett, however, has discovered that only two men ever investigated the phenomenon of censorship of books—the one wrote a short, sketchy affair of two hundred duodecimo pages; the other wrote a book which appeared in five parts between 1872 and 1878 and ended in the middle of a sentence. On April 15th we publish BURNED BOOKS, a two volume work which gathers together an immense number of "biographies" of British, and some Colonial American, books that were condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Personal prejudice, expediency, revolutionary doctrine, inopportune political opinions, heresy—all have had strange or significant treatment at the hands of the "authorities". The book appeals particularly to those who seek in the bypaths of history and literature for amusement or for the causes and effects of censorship on the British and Colonial American public.[2]

THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION, 1806–7, *by Paul F. Shupp.* This book brings, for the first time, into one narrative an account of the diverse interests of European powers in the Near East at the time when it had become an affair of international politics. In 1806–1807, Napoleon's power being at its height, various problems emerged which became significant for European statesmen during all the nineteenth century. For the first time the questions of balance of power in Europe became vitally connected with special interests of the great powers in the Near East. Austria's concern with nationalistic movements of Slavic peoples, Russia's compelling necessity for an outlet into the Mediterranean, the attempt of France to maintain political and commercial hegemony in the Levant, England's protection of trade with India—all these made vital issues which were not settled up to the time of the World War.[3]

Horace Taylor, after eighteen months of investigation in Germany, has recently published a pamphlet which he has written in the best eighteenth century manner under the title of GOOD BUSINESS AND THE WAR DEBTS. It describes in the clearest, briefest, untechnical manner the private debt and reparations situation, and the good sense of its conclusions is substantiated daily by the published comments of some of the biggest men in business and professional circles.[4]

1 *$3.75.* 2 *$10.00.* 3 *$6.75.* 4 *$.25.*

WITH the present renewed interest in power development and navigable waterways on the Canadian boundary, THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE DOMINION OF CANADA by C. J. Chacko offers a timely contribution to the study of relations between the United States and Canada. For almost twenty years the commission has efficiently and unostentatiously functioned in the adjustment of disputes over the long, undefended boundary. This book treats comprehensively with the creation, powers, and accomplishments of the commission as an agency of peace and a means of settling difficult technical problems.[1]

There is practically no study in existence which deals with the history of the Counter-Reformation in Italy, though more forces were combined there to make a unique story than in any other scene of reformation agitation. Usually all discussion on the subject has been focussed on Geneva, on the work and personality of Calvin. But the period of Calvin's tenure in Geneva, 1534-64, was also the period of the Counter-Reformation. And while the Jesuits' part in the movement has already received much attention, the policy and activities of the Inquisition during the period are insufficiently ascertained, despite their remarkable influence. In THE ITALIAN REFORMERS, Frederic C. Church has based his work on a great deal of unpublished material, and his treatment of the story—a weaving together of the biographies of the chief reformers—is stimulating and thorough.[2]

Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, was one of the foremost thinkers of eighteenth century England in the fields of economics, international relations, political theory, and imperialism. But his publications are now available in only a few libraries. In JOSIAH TUCKER, a selection from his economic and political writings, with an introduction, by Robert Livingston Schuyler, the most systematic of his economic writings, "The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes," is published for the first time. It was written as part of a comprehensive treatise on economics which Tucker planned but never completed. Twenty years before "The Wealth of Nations" it anticipates classic doctrines of Adam Smith. Other writings of Tucker included in this volume are a remarkable tract on war, which foreshadows present-day pacifistic thought, pamphlets on the American Colonies, in which their separation from Great Britain is strongly advocated, and a treatise on civil government written to refute the contract theory of the state. The introduction places the author's writings in their historical and biographical setting and emphasizes what seems most significant in his thought as an economist, pacifist, political theorist and anti-imperialist.[3]

There are numerous biographies of little-known Americans whose lives, at one time or another, had very definite effects on American history. Columbia University Press has a substantial list of these biographies and "sectional" histories. The next will be GEORGE MORGAN, COLONY BUILDER, by Maxwell Savelle. Morgan was the colonial merchant who opened the trade between the Atlantic seaboard and the Illinois. He was manager of the "Indiana Company," which contested Virginia's title to the land in the Ohio Valley east of the Ohio River, and his struggle against that state is a first-hand explanation of one of the influences which determined the make-up of the American constitution. He administered the Continental Congress' policy toward the Indians in the Ohio Valley, a hitherto unwritten part of the history of his time. A later period found him settling New Madrid (Mo.), then within Spanish territory, and becoming involved in diplomacy. His life reveals various phases of western expansion, the formation of the Constitution, the Revolution, and certain aspects of the social history of the whole Revolutionary period.[4]

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SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1931 ($5.00) under the direction of Charles P. Howland, and AMERICA WEIGHS HER GOLD ($2.50) by James Harvey Rogers have been selected by the Editorial Committee of the American Library Association for inclusion in the list of "Fifty Notable Books of 1931."

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